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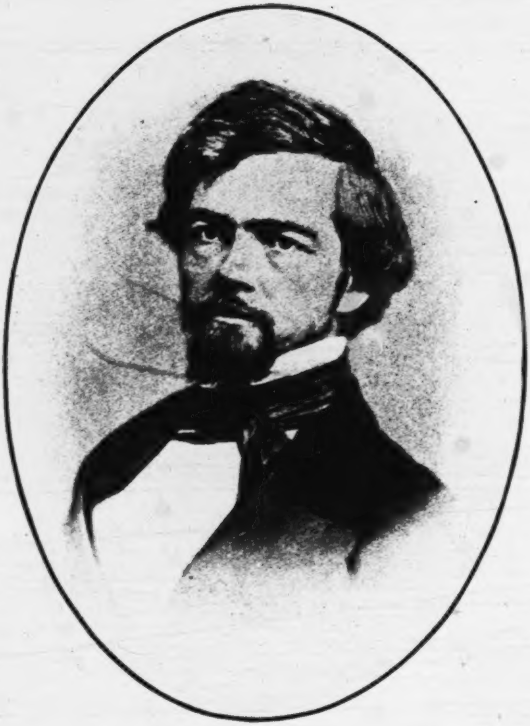

Isaac I. Stevens

THE LIFE OF

ISAAC INGALLS STEVENS

94567

BY HIS SON

HAZARD STEVENS

WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
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1900

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THIS RECORD

OF

A NOBLE AND PATRIOTIC LIFE

IS DEDICATED

TO

THE YOUNG MEN OF AMERICA

PREFACE

For many years I have felt impelled to write this Life, not only in justice to General Stevens's memory, but also as an act of duty to the young men of the country, that the example of his noble and patriotic career might not be lost to posterity. An only son, closely associated from boyhood with him, his chief of staff in the Civil War, and always the recipient of his counsel and confidence, the opportunities thus given me to know his sentiments and characteristics, and to witness so many of his actions, plainly augment the duty of making his record more widely known. In these pages, setting aside, as far as possible, the bias of filial respect and affection, I seek to simply narrate the actual facts of his life.

Since beginning this work in 1877, I have been greatly assisted by data furnished by many of General Stevens's contemporaries, former brother officers, and associates in the public service, many of whom have now passed on. I render my grateful thanks to them for such aid, and for their words of appreciation of General Stevens and encouragement to his biographer, and especially to Generals Zealous B. Tower, Henry J. Hunt, Benjamin Alvord, Edward D. Townsend, Rufus Ingalls, A. A. Humphreys, E. O. C. Ord, Thomas W. Sherman, Joseph E. Johnston, G. T. Beauregard, William H. French, Truman Seymour, Orlando M. Poe, Silas Casey, John G. Barnard, M. C. Meiggs, Joseph Hooker, George W. Cullum, David Morrison, George E. Randolph; Colonels Samuel N. Benjamin, Granville O. Haller, Henry C. Hodges, John Hamilton, H. G. Heffron, Elijah Walker, Moses B. Lakeman; Major Theodore J. Eckerson, Major George T. Clark; Captains William T. Lusk, Robert Armour, C. H. Armstrong; Professors W. H. C. Bartlett, A. E. Church, H. S. Kendrick, H. E. Hilgard, Spencer F. Baird; General Joseph Lane, Senator James W. Nesmith; General Joel Palmer, Nathan W. Hazen, Esq., Alexander S. Abernethy, C. P. Higgins; Judge James G. Swan, Arthur A. Denny; Hon. Elwood Evans, General James Tilton.

My thanks are also due, for facilities for examining and copying records in their departments, to the Hon. J. Q. Smith, former Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and Hon. A. C. Towner, Acting Commissioner; to General H. C. Corbin, Adjutant-General; General John M. Wilson, Chief of Engineers; Hon. John Hay, Secretary of State; Professor Henry L. Pritchett, Superintendent of the Coast Survey; Lieutenant Paul Brodie, formerly adjutant 79th Highlanders, for copying hundreds of pages of documents in the Indian Office; Mr. R. F. Thompson, of the same office, for assistance rendered; Professor F. G. Young, of Eugene, Oregon, for a copy of Colonel Lawrence Kip's account of the Walla Walla Council, republished by him.

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Official dispatches of Admiral Dupont.

Life of Charles Henry Davis, Rear Admiral.

Letters and statements from gentlemen named in the Preface.

The author, having sought his information from original sources as far as possible, deems it unnecessary to mention the great number of histories, regimental histories, and biographies that he has perused, as they throw little light on the subject, and much of that misleading.

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THE LIFE

OF

ISAAC INGALLS STEVENS

CHAPTER I

ANCESTRY. — BIRTHPLACE

About 1640 a mere handful of English colonists went out from Boston, and made the first settlement in the town of Andover, Essex County, Massachusetts. They laid out their homes on the Cochichewick, a stream which flows out of the Great Pond in North Andover, and falls into the Merrimac River on the south side a few miles below Lawrence. The infant settlement was known as Cochichewick until 1646, when it was incorporated as a town under its present name, after the Andover in Hampshire, England, the birthplace of some of the settlers.

Among the first who thus planted their hearthstones in the wilderness was John Stevens. His name stands fifth in an old list in the town records containing "the names of all the householders in order as they came to town." The mists of the past still allow a few glimpses of this sturdy Puritan settler. He was admitted a freeman of the colony, June 2, 1641 (Old Style). He was appointed by the General Court, May 15, 1654, one of a committee of three to settle the boundary between the towns of Haverhill and Salisbury, a duty satisfactorily performed. He was sergeant in the military company of the town, a post then equivalent to captain or commander. According to Savage, N. E. Genealogies, vol. i., p. 186, John Stevens lived at Caversham, County Oxford, England, and came to America in the Confidence from Southampton in 1638.

Large, substantial head and foot stones of slate, sculptured and lettered in the quaint fashion of his day, still mark the resting-place of John Stevens, after the storms of now two and a third centuries, in the oldest graveyard of Cochichewick, situated opposite the Kittredge mansion, and about half a mile north of the old parish meeting-house in North Andover. He died April 11, 1662, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and was therefore thirty-five years old when he founded his future home. John Stevens was evidently a man of note and substance, the worthy progenitor of a prolific family, which has filled Andover with his descendants, and put forth from time to time strong, flourishing branches into all quarters of the country. It may indeed be safely said that there is scarely a State in the Union which does not contain descendants of this sturdy Puritan.

His son Nathan, the first male child born in Andover, lies buried near him under a broad freestone slab with an inscription to "Coun$^{\text{clr}}$ Nathan Stevens, who deceased February y$^{\text{e}}$ 19, 1717, in y$^{\text{e}}$ 75 year of his age." The memorials of many others of his descendants stand thickly scattered through the quaint old burial-ground. Not the least interesting of these relics is a stone "In memory of Primus, who was a faithful servant of Mr. Benjamin Stevens, Jr., who died July 25, 1792, aged 72 years, 5 months, and 16 days."

A vigorous, long-lived race sprang from the loins of this first settler John, a hardy, thrifty race of plain New England farmers, honest and straightforward, with plenty of solid, shrewd good sense, bearing manfully the toils and hardships of colonial days, and contributing its quota of ministers and deacons to the church, and offi-

GRAVE OF JOHN STEVENS

cers and soldiers to the wars with the Indians and the French. In 1679 a grant of land was made to Ephraim Stevens, son of the first settler, in recompense of his losses by the Indians. In 1689 Lieutenant John Stevens, another son, perished in the expedition against Louisburg. In 1698 Abiel Stevens, a grandson, was captured by the Indians, but made his escape. In 1755 Captain Asa Stevens and Ensign James Stevens died in the Lake George campaign. Upon the state muster-rolls appear the names of twelve Stevenses of Andover as soldiers in the Revolution.

The subject of this work, Isaac Ingalls Stevens, was the seventh in direct descent from John Stevens, the founder of Andover, — 1 John Stevens, 2 Joseph, 3 James, 4 James, 5 Jonathan, 6 Isaac, 7 Isaac Ingalls Stevens.

Joseph was the fourth son of the first settler John. He was deacon in the church. He married Mary Ingalls May 20, 1679, and died February 25, 1743, aged 88.

James was the second son of Joseph, married Dorothy Fry, March, 1712, and died May 25, 1769, aged 84. He participated in the military affairs and contests with the Indians and French of his times, commanded a company at the capture of Louisburg, and for his services was granted a tract of land in Maine. He was a deputy to the General Court. His gravestone bears the title of captain.

Captain James's eldest son was also named James. He was born in 1720, and married Sarah Peabody in 1745. This James was an energetic, promising young man, with a young wife and two boys, when in 1754 a recruiting party with colors, drum, and fife went about Andover beating up recruits for the French and Indian war then raging. The young men all hung back. "Make me a captain," said James Stevens, "and I will raise a company for the war." This remark led to his receiving the commission of ensign. He raised a company of the young men of Andover, and marched away at their head to the shores of Lake George, in New York, where, November 28, 1755, he died of camp fever, with the rank of lieutenant.

His eldest son, Jonathan, inherited a due share of his father's spirit, for we find him hastening to Bunker Hill, and fighting manfully in the battle. He served on other occasions during the Revolutionary war, and after a successful dash upon the enemy writes the following interesting letter to his sister: —

> LOVING SISTER, — These will inform you that I am very well at present, and have been so ever since I came from home, and I hope you and all my friends enjoy the same state of health.
>
> We have been up to Ticonderoga and took almost four hundred prisoners of the British Army, and relieved one hundred of our men that were prisoners there.
>
> Our army have come from Ticonderoga down as far as Pawlet, about sixty miles, and expect to march to Stillwater very soon. So no more at present.
>
> I remain, Your Loving Brother,
> JONATHAN STEVENS.
>
> PAWLET, October ye 1st, 1777.

Jonathan married Susannah Bragg, December 15, 1773, and raised thirteen children, — Jonathan, Susannah, James, Dolly, Jeremy, Hannah, Isaac, Nathaniel, Dolly, Moses, Sarah, Oliver, and William.

He united the business of a currier and tanner to his ancestral pursuit of farming, and achieved the modest independence he so well merited. The house that he occupied for many years stood on the old road that passed along the western border of the Cochichewick meadows, that were long since flooded and converted into a lake, the extension of the Great Pond, for the water supply of the woolen mills of his son Nathaniel, and the cellar is still visible on the west side of the road, some three hundred yards from its junction with the road from the village of North Andover to the mills. He afterwards built one of those large, square, substantial mansions, once common in New England, on the crest of the high ground east of the village, and commanding noble views of the hamlet, the Great Pond, and the Cochichewick valley and the mills. This house was unfortunately destroyed by fire in 1876.

Jonathan Stevens purchased, for sixpence an acre, a large tract of land in Maine, which he divided into three farms, and bestowed upon his sons Jonathan, James, and Isaac. They settled, and named the place Andover, after their native town, and the descendants of the two former still reside there.

Jonathan Stevens was a tall, large man of fresh, ruddy complexion and fine appearance. He was fond of relating the incidents of the battle of Bunker Hill, and used to recount the tale to his children and grandchildren every Fourth of July, — how Putnam went along the line and commanded them not to fire until they could see the whites of the Redcoats' eyes; and how Abbot, the strongest man in town, bore a wounded comrade off the field on his back. On the anniversary of the battle he invariably invited his comrades in the fight to his house, and entertained them with New England rum and hearty, old-fashioned hospitality, while the veterans fought the battle o'er again. He sat among the veterans of the battle at Webster's magnificent oration in dedication of the Bunker Hill monument. On his eighty-fourth birthday he worked with his men in the hay-field, keeping up with the best all day, and suffered no ill effect from the unwonted exertion. He died April 13, 1834, at the age of eighty-seven. In 1799 he gave the tract of land upon which was erected Franklin Academy, on the hill north of the meeting-house.

Jonathan's brother James, Captain James's other son, also served in the Revolutionary war, and left a diary of the siege of Boston, recently discovered in the garret of an old mansion in Andover, which opens like an epic: —

> "April ye 19, 1775. This morning about seven o'clock we had a larum that the Regulars were gone to Concord. We gathered to the meeting house, and then started for Concord. We went through Tewksbury into Billerica. We stopped at Pollard's, and ate some biscuits and cheese on the common. We started and went on to Bedford, and we heard that the Regulars had gone back to Boston. So we went through Bedford. As we went into Lexington we went to the meeting house, and there we came to the destruction of the Regulars. They killed eight of our men, and shot a cannon ball through the meeting house. We went along through Lexington, and we saw several Regulars dead on the road, and some of our men, and three or four houses were burnt, and some horses and hogs were killed. They plundered in every house they could get into. They stove in windows and broke in tops of desks. We met the men a coming back very fast," etc.

Jonathan's fourth son was Isaac, born in 1785. On reaching manhood he went before the mast on a voyage to China, and brought back, as a gift to his mother, a beautiful china tea-set. After his return from sea he went to Andover, Maine, to settle upon the lands bestowed by his father upon himself and brothers, Jonathan and James.

With characteristic energy, Isaac Stevens set to work clearing his land, and reducing rebellious nature to orderly submission. While thus at work in the woods one day, a heavy tree fell upon and crushed him to the earth; his left leg was terribly mangled, the bones broken in two places, and he received other serious injuries. The doctors insisted that the leg must be taken off in order to save his life, but Isaac Stevens with inflexible resolution refused to allow the amputation, and after a long, painful illness finally recovered. The limb, however, in the process of healing, became materially shorter and permanently stiffened, so that he was unable to bend the knee joint, and during the remainder of his life the wound broke out afresh periodically, and caused him great suffering. As soon as he was sufficiently recovered to bear the journey, he returned to his native Andover, where, under his mother's careful nursing, he slowly recovered from the terrible injuries he had received.

It was at this time that he formed an attachment with Hannah Cummings, the daughter of a sterling farmer family like his own, and who united to a warm and affectionate heart, noble and elevated sentiments, strong good sense, and untiring industry. Their marriage followed soon after, on the 29th of September, 1814. He now relinquished the project of settling in Maine, and hired an old farmhouse with some twenty acres of land of Mr. Bridges. This house, one of the oldest in Andover, is situated at the end of Marble Ridge, a short distance south of the Great Pond, and at the point where the road from the village to Haverhill, after crossing the Essex Railroad, forks, the left branch leading on to Haverhill, while the other turns short to the right and conducts to Marble Ridge Station. The solid timbers and stockaded sides of the rear part of this old house — for the front is a later structure — were the mute witnesses of a stratagem in early Indian troubles as novel as it proved successful. The stout-hearted farmer settler was alone, with his wife and little ones about him, one night, when he discovered a large party of savages stealthily approaching, and spreading out so as to encompass his house. Hastily barricading the doors, he seized his trumpet, which he bore as trumpeter of the military company of the settlement, stole unperceived out of the house, caught and mounted his horse, and, making a circuit through the fields, gained the high road between the Indians and the village. Then, putting spurs to his steed, and pealing blast upon blast from his trumpet, he charged furiously down upon the Indians, now in the very act of assailing his domicile, who, thinking no doubt that the whole force of the countryside was upon them, incontinently fled into the forest.

Judged by the standard of these days, the young couple had an unpromising future. They were very poor, the husband a cripple, and they held as tenants a few barren acres from which to extract a livelihood. But Isaac Stevens now toiled early and late with untiring energy; he saved at every point, and turned everything to account with true Yankee thrift. He built a malt-house, and after laboring on the farm from earliest dawn until dark, would work at preparing the malt until late in the evening. His farm embraced a large meadow lying on both sides of the Cochichewick, just below where it issued from the Great Pond, but now flooded by the milldams still lower down, where he cut vast quantities of meadow hay, with which he filled his barns and fed a goodly number of horned stock during the long, rigorous winters, realizing thereby a handsome profit in the spring. His young wife joined her efforts to his, and frequently cut and made clothing for the neighbors around, in addition to the unceasing and arduous labors of a farmer's wife. Such thrift and industry could not fail of success. The Bridges house and land were purchased, largely on mortgage at first; then the wet meadow was added; then a goodly tract of generous land was bought of the father, Jonathan Stevens, and other fields and tracts were added from time to time. During the thirteen years following their marriage, the first scanty holding grew to a farm of one hundred and fifty acres of their own, and free from debt. Seven children, too, came to bless their union and increase their cares. Then the devoted wife and mother died, November 3, 1827, leaving this helpless little flock, the oldest of whom was but twelve and the youngest two years of age. Henceforth life was a heavy and unceasing labor to Isaac Stevens. The little farm grew no larger, and all his efforts were now required to maintain his family and keep free from debt. Two years afterwards he married Ann Poor, of North Andover, impelled by his situation and circumstances, with so many helpless children about him and the household economy of the farm unprovided for. The second wife failed to restore the happiness of home. She had no children, and died in 1866, four years after her husband.

Isaac Stevens was a man of deeply marked and noble characteristics. His fortitude was severely tested by the misfortune which left him a lifelong cripple. His cool courage and inflexible resolution are best illustrated by his manner of dealing with a dangerous bull he once owned. This animal grew daily more and more savage, until every one stood in fear of it except the owner, who, as often happens in such cases, persisted in thinking it quite harmless. At length, however, the bull one day chased a neighbor, who had imprudently ventured to cross the field in which it pastured, and overtaking him just as he reached the fence, tossed him high in air, so that falling fortunately on the farther side of the inclosure, he escaped with no more serious injuries than some severe bruises and a broken nose. The bull, furious at the escape of his prey, was bellowing and pawing the ground. "The bull must be shot!" cried the man who helped off the injured neighbor. But Isaac Stevens at once armed himself with a stout cudgel, coolly hobbled into the field, disregarding all remonstrances and entreaties, fixed his eye upon the enraged beast, backed him into a narrow corner where he could not escape, and thrashed him over the head with the club with such terrible severity that he was completely subdued, and ever after remained perfectly gentle and submissive.

Always strictly observing the Sabbath, he held liberal views of religion and attended the Unitarian Church. He kept himself informed of the current events of the day, taking the New York "Tribune" and Garrison's "Liberator," and manifesting the greatest interest in education, temperance, anti-slavery, and every cause that would make mankind better or happier. "How he denied himself all comforts almost, and *quietly* sent money to free the slave and for the temperance cause! He was a strong pillar of the foundation principles of right and justice that it would be well for young men of this day to study," said one who knew him well.

He was, above all, a man of perfect integrity and truth, and of a strict sense of justice. There was not a fibre of guile or indirection in his moral nature. He held strong and ardent convictions, noble and lofty ideals of duty and philanthropy, and an intense hatred and scorn of wrong or oppression in any form. He strongly opposed and denounced the use of liquors and tobacco, and became early in life a vehement and outspoken abolitionist of slavery, at a period when the advocacy of such doctrines demanded unusual moral courage as well as stern conviction of right. At his decease, years afterwards, he bequeathed five hundred dollars to the Anti-Slavery Society, requiring only that Wendell Phillips should deliver a lecture in the parish church of North Andover.

The untiring industry which, with his frugality and good management, enabled him to achieve comparative independence so early in life, was not the course of a drudge and miser, but of an ardent, resolute spirit spurning poverty, debt, and dependence. All through life he manifested an unconquerable aversion to debt. He loved a fast horse, and the old mare which he kept until she died, over twenty-seven years old, was, in her prime, the fastest in the town. After reading a newspaper or book, he was in the habit of giving it to a neighbor, telling him to hand it to another after perusing it. He took great pains with his orchards, and planted apple-trees along the stone walls bordering his fields. He also planted the noble elms now overhanging the old farmhouse, and the long lines of this graceful tree now bordering the road from the house to the crest of the hill overlooking the village and the road over Marble Ridge, and the numerous clumps and rows in his fields wherever a sightly eminence seemed to require such an adornment.

His children were: —

HANNAH PEABODY, born September 24, 1815, died November 24, 1840.
SUSAN BRAGG, born February 14, 1817, died April 8, 1841.
ISAAC INGALLS, born March 25, 1818, died September 1, 1862.
ELIZABETH BARKER, born July 14, 1819, died December 10, 1846.
SARAH ANN, born January 13, 1822, died February 8, 1844.
MARY JANE, born August 5, 1823, died June 22, 1847.
OLIVER, born June 22, 1825.

The following account of the ancestry of Hannah Cummings is given by her nephew, Dr. George Mooar, D. D., of Oakland, California, who has collected much information concerning the Cummings genealogy: —

"Hannah, wife of Isaac Stevens, was the third child of Deacon Asa and Hannah (Peabody) Cummings, born October 23, 1785, married September 29, 1814, and died November 3, 1827.

"The line from her father to the first American ancestor runs thus: Asa (6), Thomas (5), Joseph (4), Abraham (3), John (2), Isaac (1).

"Deacon Asa was born in Andover, Massachusetts, but removed in 1798 to Albany, Maine, a pioneer settler there, a trusted, intelligent, and capable citizen, who in 1803 represented his district in the General Court.

"Captain Thomas (5) was born in Topsfield and died September 3, 1765. He married Anna Kittell, the widow of Asa Johnson, of Andover.

"Captain Joseph (4), of Topsfield, was quite a character. The biographer of Dr. Manasseh Cutler says that he found among the papers of that eminent person a notice of Captain Cummings in which he is spoken of as a remarkable man, well versed in the politics of the day, and he adds: 'From the interest Dr. Cutler felt in him, he must have been a stanch patriot and Federalist.' In a notice which appears in the 'Salem Gazette' we are told that when nearly a hundred he would readily mount his horse from the ground. He died in his one hundred and second year.

"Abraham (3) was a resident of Woburn and of Dunstable.

"John (2) was quite a large proprietor in Boxford, Massachusetts, and later was one of the first fourteen proprietors of the town of Dunstable.

"Isaac (1) appears on a list of the 'Commoners of Ipswich in 1641, but appears to have arrived in America three years before. No exact knowledge of his previous residence in Great Britain has been obtained. The prevailing tradition gives him a Scottish descent.'

"An elder brother of Hannah Cummings was Dr. Asa Cummings, D. D., of Portland, Maine, eminent for classical learning and piety, and editor of the 'Christian Mirror' for many years."

CHAPTER II

BIRTH. — BOYHOOD

Isaac Ingalls Stevens first saw the light at the old Marble Ridge farmhouse, on the 25th of March, 1818. He was a delicate infant, and it was impossible for his mother, with her other little ones and the engrossing labors of the farmhouse, to bestow upon him the care his condition required. His grandmother, one day visiting the farm, was shocked to see him still in his cradle, though three years old, and, remarking that unless he was taught soon he never would walk, insisted upon taking him home with her, where, under her gentle and experienced hands, he quickly learned to run about. After returning home his father used to plunge him, fresh from bed, into a hogshead of cold water every morning.

Such heroic treatment would be sure to kill or cure, and perhaps no better proof could be given of the native vigor of his constitution than the fact that he lived, and became strong, active, and hardy.

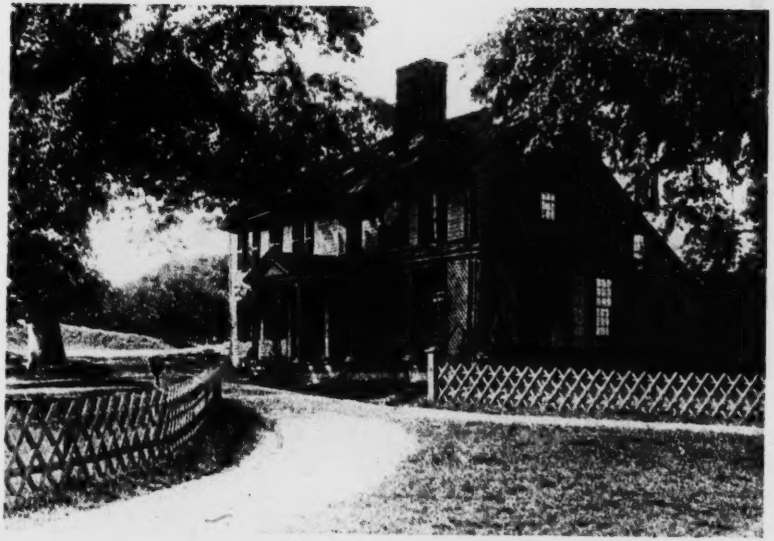
Even as a child he was active, daring, and adventurous. He used to climb the lofty elms in front of his grandfather's house, and cling like a squirrel to the topmost branches, laughing and chattering defiance to his grandmother's commands and entreaties to come down.

One afternoon Abiel Holt, the hired man on the farm, went a-fishing for pickerel, and took Isaac, who was then a very little urchin just able to run about cleverly. After catching a fine string of fish, they came to the old causeway which crossed the water where now stands the dam under the Essex Railroad, but which was then submerged several feet deep in the water for some distance.

A rude footway had been contrived here by driving down forked stakes at suitable intervals along the causeway, and placing loose poles in the crotches from stake to stake, forming one row for the feet and another a little higher for the hands.

The contrivance was rickety and unsafe to the last degree; the poles swayed and bent at every step, and it required great care and the use of both feet and hands to avoid a ducking. It was now time to drive up the cows, which were pasturing beyond the water; so Holt, bidding the child remain there, crossed over after them, taking with him the string of fish, which he hung up on one of the stakes on the farther side, for he wanted the pleasure of taking his spoils home in triumph, and feared, if he left them with Isaac, the latter would take them and run home while he was away. On returning he was struck with consternation to find no trace of either the child or the fish. He carefully scrutinized the water without result, and at length slowly returned to the farmhouse, filled with misgivings, and was not a little relieved to find both his charge and his fish safe at home. The child had worked his way across the water by the poles, although, standing on the lower row, he could hardly reach the upper one with extended arms, and had returned, holding the string of fish in his teeth, in the same way. His father ever after was particularly fond of relating this anecdote in proof of the daring and adventurous spirit so early manifested.

He was a sensitive, earnest child, not demonstrative, but having great affection and tenderness, which he lavished upon his mother. Her early death was his first and greatest misfortune. When he was only seven years old, his father, who always drove furiously, in driving with



BIRTHPLACE OF GENERAL STEVENS, ANDOVER, MASS.
From Historical Sketches of Andover, by Sarah Loring Bailey

his wife in his wagon rapidly around a corner, overset the vehicle. They were thrown out violently upon the ground, and the unfortunate mother struck upon her head. From this shock she never really recovered, and died two years after the unhappy accident. During this period Isaac attached himself closely to his mother, and acquired no slight influence over her. The early death of this tender and devoted wife and mother well-nigh destroyed the happiness of her family. Isaac ever cherished her memory with the tenderest veneration. He thought that from her were inherited great part of his talents, and that had she lived he would have been spared the injudicious forcing of his mind in his childhood, to which he always declared he owed a real mental injury.

After the mother's death, a housekeeper was employed to provide for the helpless little flock, and attend to the household duties; and two years later the father married his second wife, Ann Poor.

Isaac was sent to school before his fifth year, where from the first he displayed great power of memory, close application, and devotion to study. His teachers were astonished to find that he did not stop at the end of the day's lesson, but habitually learned far beyond it, often reciting page after page. It was said that there was no need of telling Isaac how much to study; it was enough to show him where to begin, and he would learn more than the teacher cared to hear. His first teacher, Miss Susan Foster, said with astonishment one day, after hearing his lesson in arithmetic, "There is no use for me to teach him arithmetic; he is already far beyond me in that."

After his tenth year he attended Franklin Academy, in North Andover, — Old Put's school, as it was usually and more familiarly styled, — kept by Mr. Simon Putnam, who attained great repute as a teacher. This was situated on the hill north of the meeting-house, on land given for the purpose by grandfather Jonathan. Here he studied the usual English branches. Among his schoolmates were William Endicott, Jr., the well-known philanthropist, Hon. Daniel Saunders, the late George B. Loring, and Major George T. Clark. It appears that wrestling was a favorite sport with the active and hardy boys at this school.

His father, proud and ambitious on his account, kept him constantly at school, and urged on to still greater efforts this earnest, ardent nature, intense in everything he undertook. The evil effects of such mistaken treatment soon made themselves felt. His mind became wearied and dull from overtasking. The teacher advised rest. The boy, then but ten years old, begged his father to take him out of school and let him work on the farm, telling him that he could no longer study; that he could not learn his lessons. But the father refused, not realizing the son's condition, and bade him go back to school and study what he could. Isaac then went to his uncle Nathaniel, who owned the Cochichewick woolen mills, situated two miles below the farm, and obtained his permission to work in the factory for a year. He prevailed upon his grandmother to let him lodge at her house in order to be nearer the factory; and having thus decided upon his course, went home and informed his father of the arrangements he had made, who, astonished at the judgment and resolution of the boy, acquiesced. So Isaac went to work in the factory, lodging at his grandfather's, rising long before daylight that he might eat a hurried breakfast, walk a mile to the factory, and begin the day's work at five o'clock in the morning, and toiling ten to twelve hours a day. He entered the weavers' room, where he soon learned to manage a loom. The best weavers were women, it seems, and able to run two looms apiece. Isaac at once determined to excel the most capable; and before he left the factory, succeeded in reaching the goal of his ambition, and managed four looms unassisted.

After a year of this unremitting labor, he left the mills. As he was returning home with the scanty sum he had earned in his pocket, taking it to his father, he passed a shop where some tempting hot gingerbread was displayed for sale, and felt an intense longing to buy a pennyworth; but reflecting that his earnings belonged to his father, and it would be wrong for him to spend any of them, he overcame the desire and went home. But when he handed the money to his father, and asked for a cent to buy the gingerbread with, he felt stung to the quick by the latter's refusal. In truth, the father's hard struggle with poverty and adverse circumstances had narrowed his noble nature. Too much had life become to him nothing but hard work, self-sacrifice, and a severe sense of duty. He did not appreciate the sensitive nature of a child, and its needs of sympathy, recreation, and occasional indulgence.

Directly across the road from the house was a small pool called the frog-pond. Isaac selected a corner of this pond for his garden, filled it up with stones, and covered them with rich earth brought from a distance in his little cart with great pains and labor. He eagerly seized every moment that could be spared from school and his unceasing round of morning and evening chores to devote to this darling project. At last the garden was prepared, and planted with his own favorite seeds. But his father, fearing that it might distract and take up too much time from his studies and duties about the farm, rudely uprooted his tenderly cared-for plants, and put in potatoes instead.

On another occasion his father's injudicious urging nearly proved fatal. Isaac was helping in the hay-field, and was working with such ardor and had accomplished so much that his father was actually astonished. Instead of restraining, he praised him without stint. Under this stimulus the ambitious boy redoubled his exertions until he was prostrated by a sunstroke, resulting in a raging fever, from which he barely escaped with life after a severe sickness.

On another occasion, when twelve years old, he was working in the hay-field, pitching hay upon the cart; he was badly ruptured, and had to be carried to the house. As soon as he was able to travel he went alone to Boston, and sought out Dr. Warren, a noted surgeon, and laid his case before him. Dr. Warren was so much struck with the lad's courage and intelligence that he refused to accept any fee. "If you do exactly what I tell you, you will get well," he said, "and I know you will do so from looking in your face." The surgeon had a truss made, and prescribed treatment, but all the remainder of his life Isaac was obliged to wear the truss, although he outgrew the injury in a measure until it broke out afresh in Mexico from over-exertion.

Measured by modern conditions, it was a severe and laborious home life in which the farmer's boy grew up, but it was a wholesome one, and well adapted to bring out all his powers. Morning and evening, throughout the year, he had his round of duties, feeding and milking the cows, feeding the pigs, cutting and bringing in wood, etc. During the winter he rose long before daylight to attend to these chores and shovel snow from the paths, then after a hasty breakfast trudged away to school, and on returning again resumed the round of unending farm work. In summer there was no school for three or four months, and then he worked on the farm, hoeing corn, making hay, driving oxen, and performing all the hard and varied labors of a New England farmer's son. But the New England farmers of that day were the owners of the soil. They knew no superiors. The Revolutionary struggle, as recent to them as the great Rebellion is to us, was fresh and vivid in their minds, and stimulated noble ideas of liberty and national independence. The standard of personal honesty, manhood, and morals, bequeathed from their Puritan ancestry, was high. Such was the moral atmosphere of Isaac Stevens's household, heightened by his own earnest, philanthropic, and elevated sentiments. All his children were intellectual and high-minded, and nothing can be more touching than the constant ambition and striving of his five daughters for education and self-improvement. All became teachers, but died young, victims of consumption.

Nor was the life of the youth nothing but a round of hard work and privation. If he worked hard and studied hard, he enjoyed play with equal zest, and shared the rougher sports of those days with his cousins and other boys of his age. They were more pugnacious and rougher than nowadays. Wrestling was a common sport, and boyish fights and scuffles were usual.

At the age of fifteen he entered Phillips Academy in Andover. Nathan W. Hazen, Esq., a well-known and respected lawyer of the town, furnished him board and lodgings, in return for which he took care of the garden, and did the chores about the place. One of his schoolmates, describing his first appearance at the academy, said: "The door opened, and there quietly entered an insignificant, small boy, carrying in his arms a load of books nearly as large as himself. But the impression of insignificance vanished as soon as one regarded his large head, earnest face, and firm, searching, and fearless dark hazel eye."

He remained at the academy over a year. As usual, he took the front rank from the beginning. His reputation as a scholar, especially in mathematics, extended beyond the school. Besides his studies he took sole care of Mr. Hazen's garden, a half acre in extent, groomed the horse, milked the cow, and fed them, cut and brought in the wood, and did many other jobs about the house, performing an amount of labor, as Mr. Hazen declared, sufficient to dismay many a hired man. He studied early in the morning and late at night. His power of concentrating his mind upon any subject was extraordinary. His industry was untiring. The impress this boy of fifteen made upon those with whom he came in contact during his stay at this place is really remarkable. Mr. Hazen, who proved a considerate friend and adviser to the struggling youth, relates that every evening Isaac would bring his chair close to the office table, at which the former was accustomed to read or write, in order to avail himself of the light, and would work out mathematical problems on his slate. He would remain quietly with his hand to his head in deep thought for a little time, when suddenly he would shower a perfect rainstorm of figures upon his slate without hesitation, or erasure, oftentimes completely filling it. Generally the correct result was reached; but when the solution was not found the first time, he would rapidly wipe off every figure and begin again as before. His mind always sought out and mastered the bottom principle. It was remarked that, whenever he had once solved a problem, he could unhesitatingly solve all others of the same character.

On one occasion a mathematician of some note, who had just published a new arithmetic, brought his work to the academy, and tested the acquirements of the scholars by giving them his new problems to solve. When Isaac was called to the blackboard, he astonished the author and the teacher alike by the ease and rapidity with which he solved every example. They plied him again and again with the most difficult problems, but he mastered them in every instance. "Well, sir," exclaimed the author, somewhat piqued, "I think you could make the key to this book." Isaac took the book, and in three days returned it with every example worked out.

A very difficult problem was sent from Yale College to the academy. While the teachers and scholars were puzzling over it, Isaac sat in thought for half an hour with his hand to his head, then rapidly worked out the problem on his slate and presented the solution.

Young as he was, it seems that he had thought enough on religious subjects to become a decided Universalist and Unitarian. A religious revival took place while he was at the academy, and many of the scholars were brought within its influence. Among others, one of the teachers became "converted," and sought all means to promote a similar experience among his pupils. In order to remove the stumbling-blocks of doubt and ignorance, he offered to answer any questions they might propound on religious topics. The first question Isaac put, "Can a sincere Universalist be saved?" was met by a decided and uncompromising "No." But the youth plied the unfortunate zealot with such queries that he was forced to confess his inability to answer them, and to withdraw his offer. Once, when he wanted the whole class to attend one of the revival meetings, he put it to them that all who were willing to dispense with the afternoon session and attend the meeting should rise. All promptly stood up except Isaac, who resolutely kept his seat. "Every one in favor except Stevens," exclaimed the teacher with some bitterness, realizing the protest against his own bigotry. In truth, the youth's sense of right had been shocked by the doctrines he heard advanced; he was strongly opposed to such revival meetings, and his earnest nature would not bend in a matter of principle.

At one of these meetings his two sisters, Hannah and Susan, yielded to the exhortations and influences of the occasion, and took their seats on the converts' or mourners' bench, as it was called. Perceiving this, Isaac immediately marched up to the front, and made them both leave the church with him, no slight proof of his influence over them, older than himself. In fact, while they felt great pride in his talents, his sisters had come still more to respect and lean upon his sound judgment and firm will. He lavished upon them all the great tenderness and affection of his strong and earnest nature.

During his boyhood he was affected with excessive diffidence, or bashfulness. With characteristic resolution and good sense, he set himself to overcome this weakness. He made it a point always to address any one whose presence inspired this awkward feeling, but, he said, it was years before he overcame it.

After a year and four months of this severe application, Isaac completed his course at Phillips Academy. He wished to study law with Mr. Hazen, but that gentleman discouraged the idea. At this juncture his uncle, William Stevens, suggested West Point, and wrote to Mr. Gayton P. Osgood, the member of Congress for the North Essex District, in which Andover was situated, inquiring if there was an appointment in his gift, and suggesting Isaac's name. Mr. Osgood replied that there was no vacancy. But uncle William was not satisfied; he wrote to William C. Phillips, the member representing the South Essex District, by whom he was informed that no cadet had been appointed from Mr. Osgood's district. Accordingly he formally made application in behalf of his nephew. A lawyer by profession, and cashier of the Andover bank, he was a man of some influence. Mr. Hazen and other friends joined their recommendations. Mr. Phillips exerted a favorable influence, and although there were other candidates with more influential backing, Mr. Osgood bestowed upon Isaac the desired appointment. Both uncle William and Mr. Hazen declared that the recommendations had little weight, and that Mr. Osgood selected him on account of his reputation for ability and scholarship.

CHAPTER III

WEST POINT

THE following letter to his uncle William, written immediately after his arrival at West Point, vividly portrays the mingled emotions that stirred the heart of the raw but ambitious country youth on reaching the goal of his boyish hopes, — his ardent patriotism, awakened by the historic scenes about him; his ambition and determination to be first in his class, "by unflinching resolution, indomitable perseverance, fixing his whole soul upon the object he wishes to attain with concentrated and undivided attention;" his gratitude to his uncle and friends for his appointment, and his affectionate regard for his family. It is also significant of his self-reliant character that he expresses no fears in regard to the impending examination for admission, but remarks, with well-grounded confidence, that "there can be no difficulty in sustaining myself with honor and respectability."

WEST POINT, June 13, 1835.

DEAR UNCLE, — I now enjoy the long-anticipated happiness of addressing you from West Point. And perhaps you may ask, does it meet my expectations? I am not prepared to answer this question fully at present, but will say that I like my situation, although subject to very strict regulations, and fully believe there can be no difficulty in obeying every regulation and sustaining myself with honor and respectability. And be assured that I always shall consider myself greatly indebted to you for your kind exertions in my behalf, and it shall be my determination to demean myself in such a manner as to convince you and all my friends that their exertions have not been thrown away. Here I am surrounded by young men from every State in the Union, who are eagerly endeavoring to arrive at distinction, many of whom have determined, and, what is better still, will make every exertion to carry their resolve into effect, to be first in their class.

Every one must buckle on his armor for the conflict: let him be girded with unflinching resolution, indomitable perseverance, decision and firmness of mind, singleness of purpose, integrity of heart, let him fix his *whole* soul upon the object he wishes to attain with concentrated and undivided attention, and he will undoubtedly, with scarcely the possibility of a doubt, obtain the post of honor.

The first class graduated yesterday. The whole number attached to this class was 54, which is the greatest number that ever graduated at any one time from this institution. There were splendid fireworks last evening, which lasted until nine o'clock. All the cadets were permitted to partake of the sport. It is said that the cadets who leave here are so affected that they even shed tears. Is it to be wondered at? Is there a spot in the whole United States which is associated with so many hallowed and pleasing recollections of the patriotism, of the struggles, and of the victories of our Revolutionary fathers? We are as it were in the cradle of liberty, in the stronghold of freedom, and may we be scions worthy of the tears and of the blood of our Revolutionary sires: may I not disgrace my country, my State, and that character of proud disdain and patriotic valor which inspired the heroes of Andover on the morn of Bunker's fight; and above all may I cherish that love of freedom and sympathy for the sufferings of mankind which characterized the life of Washington, of Kosciusko, and the other worthies of the Revolution; and in fine may I cherish a heart full of gratitude for those kind friends who by their exertions have assisted me to procure my present situation. I shall be examined Monday, and the encampment will be pitched on Tuesday. We shall have no uniforms until the 4th of July, at which time the new cadets mount guard. As soon as I have entered upon the active duties of the station, I shall again write to Andover. Give my love to father, mother, brother and sisters, to your own family, and all inquiring friends, remembering me especially to grandmother. I remain your grateful nephew,

Isaac I. Stevens.

Wm. Stevens, Esq.

He entered the academy resolved to place himself at the head of his class, not in presumptuous or ignorant self-confidence, but fully recognizing the arduous struggle before him. A boy of seventeen, with scanty advantages of education, but inured to hard work and hard study, he did not hesitate to contest the palm with youths older and far better prepared than himself, of whom two at least had received a collegiate education, and had publicly avowed their determination to attain the first place. These were Henry W. Halleck, of New York, distinguished as major-general, and at one time commanding the army in the war of the Rebellion, and Henry J. Biddle, of Philadelphia, both of whom were older in years, of assured social position and wealthy connections, accomplished French scholars, and well up in mathematics; and one may fancy the derision with which they regarded the rivalry of the undersized farmer's boy from Andover.

"One evening," says General E. D. Townsend, late adjutant-general of the army, "a classmate of mine, who was very fond of mathematics, General Israel Vogdes, came to my room, and told me there was a 'Plebe' just entered from my State, who was a fine mathematician already, and would stand 'head of his class in math.' This interested me, and I went around to offer to assist my fellow-statesman in entering on his career. This was previous to his first encampment. I found Mr. Stevens a modest, straightforward young man, who, in reply to my offer of any assistance I could give him, informed me he wanted to stand head of his class, — that he was not afraid of mathematics, but knew nothing whatever of French. I at once suggested to him to do what was sometimes but not often done, to apply for permission to take lessons during the encampment of one of the professors, for which a small compensation would be allowed to be deducted from Mr. Stevens's pay. He caught at this idea, and subsequently carried it out. The result was he stood fourteenth in French in the first January examination, and first in mathematics. This did not satisfy him, as I found on congratulating him on what I deemed a most creditable standing. The next June examination, by his untiring application, he stood head both in mathematics and French. There were some four young men in his class who were ripe scholars when they entered West Point, and who were by no means wanting in studious habits.

"The following year, drawing was added to the course. Mr. Stevens came to me for more advice, saying he had not the slightest notion of drawing. I suggested to him, first, great care in his outlines to get them accurate, and then, if he found on trial that he had no talent for shading, that by using a very fine-pointed crayon, and making with patience and care light, smooth marks, he might succeed in producing a well-finished and pretty picture. He came to me shortly after to say that he had improved upon my hint, for he first filled in the outline with a fine pencil, and then traced over this with a coarse one the prominent lines of the picture. Well, he stood head in drawing, and this although at least one of his competitors was quite expert with his pencil before he entered the academy. As might be expected from the beginning, Mr. Stevens graduated at the head of his class in every branch throughout the course."

Among his classmates, who afterwards rose to be generals in the army, will be recognized Henry W. Halleck; Henry J. Hunt, the distinguished chief of artillery of the Army of the Potomac; George Thom; Edward O. C. Ord; Edward R. S. Canby, who commanded the army against Mobile in 1865, and was massacred by the Modocs in 1873, when in command of the Department of the Columbia; and James B. Ricketts; and in the Confederate army, Jeremy F. Gilmer.

Among those in the three classes above him, distinguished as generals in the army, were Montgomery C. Meiggs, quartermaster-general during the war, Daniel P. Woodbury, James Lowry Donaldson, Thomas W. Sherman, Henry H. Lockwood, John W. Phelps, Robert Allen, of the class of '36.

Henry W. Benham, Alexander B. Dyer, S. Parker Scammon, Israel Vogdes, Edward D. Townsend, William H. French, John Sedgwick, the soldierly and steadfast commander of the Sixth Corps, beloved of his troops, Joseph Hooker, John B. S. Todd, of the class of '37; and on the Confederate side, Braxton Bragg, Jubal A. Early, Edmond Bradford, and John C. Pemberton.

William F. Barry, Irvin C. McDowell, Robert S. Granger, Justus McKinstry, Charles F. Ruff, and Andrew J. Smith, of the class of '38, and P. G. T. Beauregard, the distinguished Confederate leader, as also William J. Hardee, Edward Johnson, and Alexander W. Reynolds.

In the class of '40 were the distinguished W. T. Sherman, George H. Thomas, George W. Getty, Stewart Van Vleit, and William Hays; and on the Southern side, John P. McCawn, Richard S. Ewell, and Bushrod R. Johnson.

In the class of '41 were Zealous B. Tower, Horatio G. Wright, Amiel W. Whipple, Albion W. Howe, Nathaniel Lyon, John M. Brannon, and Schuyler Hamilton.

In the class of '42 were Henry L. Eustis, John Newton, William S. Rosecrans, Barton S. Alexander, John Pope, Seth Williams, Abner Doubleday, Napoleon J. T. Dana, Ralph W. Kirkham, and George Sykes; among the Confederates, James Longstreet, D. H. Hill, Gustavus W. Smith, Mansfield Lovell, Lafayette McLaws, and Earl Van Dorn.

Now fairly entered upon the life and duties of a cadet, his intense and ardent nature found full occupation. His ambition was aroused. Hard study agreed with him. The days sped rapidly and pleasantly away. He fell into companionship with the most talented and high-spirited young men. Nor, time and attention all absorbed by severe application, did he sink into a mere bookworm. Every morning before breakfast, rain or shine, he walked around the post for exercise, a distance of two miles.

He shared, too, in the escapades natural to a free and spirited youth, and did not always come off scot-free from these scrapes, for his name stands forty-third on the conduct roll for the first year.

"I have never been homesick for a single minute since I have been here," he writes his sisters Hannah and Elizabeth, September 8, 1835; "I never passed three months more pleasantly in my life, and since I commenced my studies time never seemed more fleeting. We are obliged to stand guard once a week, drill every day, have a dress parade, with roll calls, etc. We study ten and a half hours a day, two and a half of which are spent in the recitation room. I have recited four lessons in algebra and three in French, and I think I can get my maximum unless sick, or otherwise disabled, that is, miss no questions in any of my studies the coming year. I can get both of my lessons in half an hour, and I shall have much leisure time. If I had some Greek books I think I could pass my time to better advantage.

"I like the military life very much. There is as fine a set of fellows here as ever breathed the air. We study hard, eat hearty, sleep sound, and play little. In camp every one was wide awake for a scrape, or for any kind of fun. But in barracks we are as sober and steady as Quakers. We go to the section room with long and solemn faces. I assure you we know that by study and severe application alone we can keep our places. I admire the spirit which pervades the whole class. The common remark is, 'I intend to bone it with all my might.' *To bone it* means *to study hard.* Every one seems determined to rise, or keep his present standing at any rate. We are divided in four sections in mathematics, and seven in French, arranged in alphabetical order. Consequently I stand in the last section in each. A transfer will be made in the course of the week, those who do best being put in the higher sections, and those who do worst into the lower sections. I hope to rise in both. That I may do so, I intend to get my lessons in the best possible manner. It shall be my aim not only to understand my lessons, but to convince my instructors that I understand them. To do this I must accustom myself to collect my ideas readily, to be free from embarrassment and trepidation, and always to be perfectly calm and self-possessed."

TO HANNAH.

November 28.

I am doing pretty well. My health is strong and vigorous. I am not only contented with my situation, but like it very much indeed. We are kept tremendously strict, I assure you. I was visiting last Wednesday evening, and they arrested me for it, and did not release me until this evening, and in addition to that they obliged me to perform an extra tour of Sunday guard duty, which is very tough, I assure you, this cold weather.

Uncle William, it seems, was disappointed at his early standing in the class, and wrote him rather a reproachful letter of exhortation and advice, winding up with the wish that he should stand first in mathematics by the end of the year. In reply he explains that his first rating was low because his name came near the end of the alphabet.

West Point, December 5, 1835.

Dear Uncle, — Your letter was received yesterday, and read with much pleasure. I feel gratified that I still retain your confidence, and that you expect me to sustain an honorable stand. It is also rather flattering than otherwise to know that you feel disappointed because I have nothing more than a respectable standing in my class, for it shows that your estimate of my abilities is as high as, perhaps higher than, it should be. I assure you that your wish shall be gratified not only within the close of the first year, but within the first six months, if it is within my power. Should my stand be no higher than at present, you must not feel disappointed. For such a stand is not only "*very respectable*," but very high in a class like ours. I beg of you, however, to think no more of the communication, because my stand even then was much higher than 19. The sections since then have been rearranged, and I have risen very much. You must also recollect that at first I was within seven of the foot both in M. and F. In two weeks I rose 25 men in M. and 30 in F. I then remained in the second section in mathematics till the middle of November, when I was transferred to the first section.

There are only two in our class who have got the maximum at every recitation both in M. and F. since the commencement of our studies; these are cadet Biddle from Penn. and a fellow from Mass., whose birthplace, I believe, is Andover. I am now at the head of my section in French. My present standing in M. *is* as *high* as the *highest*, and it is considered so by every member of my class. There are four of us in M. who have done equally well, that is, we have each of us got the maximum, done all the extras, and demonstrate equally as well. Their names are H. J. Biddle, of Penn., I. Butler, of Va., H. W. Halleck, of N. Y., and ———, of Mass. I have often thought of the advice you gave me, and I hope I have profited by it. I have spent two hours in studying other authors, and in learning to demonstrate eloquently and with perspicuity, to every hour devoted to the text-book. In French I have risen more than any other man in the class. My stand at first was 67th, now it is 22d. When I came, I had scarcely looked into a French book for five years, and could not pronounce a single syllable. And, believe me, it is not egotism which prompts me to say this, but it is in order to put to rest all your apprehensions on my account. I also wish to assure you that I associate with none whom I ought not to respect.

West Point, December 20, 1835.

Dear Father, — You have probably received a communication from the War Department giving my stand for the month of November, which I hope will give you better satisfaction than the last return. I think my general standing in January will be still better. I shall be examined one fortnight from to-morrow, and I intend to do my best. My standing will greatly depend upon it. At the examination, each one has a demonstration to perform, besides some 20 or 30 questions to answer. If my demonstration is good, and the answers to all my questions are correct, my stand will remain in mathematics at least as good as it was in November, which, I presume, is fourth. In French I think I shall rise considerably, because my mark is as good as any one's, and I think I have gained the good-will of my teacher. Very much depends upon this. We can always secure their esteem by being attentive and respectful, and, last though not least, by paying considerable attention to our personal appearance. Lieutenant Church, my professor in mathematics, and Mr. Molinard, my professor in French, are both very fine men and accomplished teachers. The latter is a Frenchman.

I am acquainted with many Westerners, who generally are very fine fellows. They are generally very generous and open-hearted, and it is very easy to get acquainted with them. There have been two duels fought between cadets since I have been here, though no ill consequences followed. In each case the combatants were Westerners. If they had been found out, they, together with the seconds, would have been dismissed.

Our State does the best of any in the fourth class. There are three in the first section in mathematics, and two in the first section in French. Penn. has two in each. Henry J. Biddle, of Penn., will probably be head in mathematics in January. His name comes before those who have an equal mark with him; he is a splendid mathematician, and has graduated at a college, and was undoubtedly better prepared than any other member of the class. He will also be head in French. We have a splendid collection of Philosophical, Mathematical, and Historical works in our library. There is no difficulty in getting books, and I intend to avail myself of its many advantages. There is a universal history of modern times, consisting of 42 volumes. I am now reading Rollin's Ancient History. Our evenings are very busy. We study from half past five till ten.

It is noticeable in his letters that he finds the regular course of studies very easy, owing undoubtedly not less to the remarkable native powers of his mind than to his habits of study and faculty of intense application. Yet, as in boyhood, not content with the prescribed curriculum, and spurred on by his ambition to achieve the headship of his class, he takes extra French lessons, spends "two hours in studying other authors, and in learning to demonstrate eloquently and with perspicuity, to every hour devoted to the text-book," and reads Rollin's Ancient History.

Such indomitable resolution and energy combined with great ability could not fail. In six months he had gained a high place in the first section, and had become the competitor with three others for the leadership. He writes uncle William, who has congratulated him on his standing, and now thinks it best to caution him against studying too hard: —

West Point, February 1, 1836.

Dear Uncle, — It was very gratifying to learn that my standing was so satisfactory to my friends. Since it has been attained by no extra exertion, it is incumbent on me to *deserve* to sustain it for the future by strict and unwearied attention to all my academic studies.

Your caution respecting hard study shall be observed, for the very good reason that it is impossible to do otherwise. The regulations in this respect are very good, and are such as to secure to each one the privilege of studying as much as is necessary, while it restrains all from over-exertion. We retire at ten and rise at six. Of the remaining sixteen, four hours are devoted to recreation, meals, etc., and twelve to study. Of these twelve hours, two and one half are spent in the section room. The intercourse between the cadets is so free and uninterrupted that it is impossible to study except during study hours. Surely twelve hours' study per day ought to injure no one of a sound constitution.

Our class will have a society next fall. Every class, except the fourth, has one or more societies, which meet every Saturday evening. We have some very fine speakers in the corps, and many take great pains to improve themselves.

You wish to know our uniforms, rations, etc. Our uniform is gray. Our pantaloons are made as usual, except a stripe of black velvet on each leg. Cousin Charles can describe our coats, which are the same both winter and summer. In summer we wear white pants made of Russia drilling.

Remember me to all inquiring friends, especially to grandmother and your own family.

Your nephew,

Isaac I. Stevens.

N. B. Tell our folks to write soon.

To his sister Susan: —

WEST POINT, February 23, 1836.

DEAR SISTER, — Be assured that advice from *you*, and advice from *all those* whom I *know* to be my *friends*, will afford me the greatest pleasure, and will always be received with the most respectful attention. The disgusting habits of chewing, smoking, etc., I abominate, and therefore shall never indulge in them. As for drinks, either distilled or fermented, I do not use them, because in the first place they cannot be obtained, and, in the second place, I have no desire for them. The fact of the case is, that in barracks there are no temptations offered us but what every one who has any mind could easily resist. In camp it is not the case; then many temptations are offered us, to which we are in great danger of yielding, since we have much leisure. When a person has his whole time employed, there is little danger of falling into bad habits. Last fall, when I commenced the Algebra, I had very little to do, and came very near contracting some very bad habits, as sleeping in the morning, etc., which at first required some little difficulty in breaking; but now I do not think of such a thing, not even Sunday mornings, and I often rise at four or five o'clock. This is owing to having hard lessons to get. You mention that you are studying Latin and like it very much. I have but one caution to give you on this subject, which is, get your grammar perfectly. Everything depends upon this. You can never make a good Latin scholar unless you know everything about the grammar. Since you are studying French, I intend next encampment to write you a letter in French, which you must answer, and we will correct each other. We use Levisac's Grammar, and at every lesson get about half a page of exercises, and are obliged to get them so that we can write any sentence our Prof. gives us upon the blackboard without referring to the books. We are now writing sentences upon the pronomial verbs. We get for our translation eight pages in Charles XII. per day. Our teacher, Mr. Bevard (the author of the French Lessons), is a very good linguist, and the most thorough teacher I ever was under. He is very particular about our pronunciation, and corrects us very frequently. I think by June I shall be able to pronounce French pretty well and read it fluently, and shall endeavor to rise considerably.

You must write whenever you can find it convenient, and your letters shall always be punctually answered. I observe that you pay the postage. I wish that you would allow me to pay it, as I think I am better able to do it than you. Remember me to all inquiring friends.

Your brother,

Isaac I. Stevens.

Miss S. B. Stevens.

His letters show the maturity of the mind and judgment of the youth of seventeen, and exhibit a slight formality and precision that indicates that he was taking pains in the composition. His correspondence must have taken no little time. His great, warm heart went out towards all his relations, and he was frequently writing to his uncle William, and his cousins in Andover and Salem, Mass., in Albany, Maine, and in Nashville, Tenn. He wrote constantly to his father and sisters, keenly alive to their welfare and happiness. The latter were beginning to scatter widely from the paternal roof-tree. Hannah, the eldest, was at Haverhill, earning her livelihood. Susan was attending the female seminary at the South Parish (Andover); Mary was at Methuen, at Mr. Stephen Barker's; and only Sarah and Elizabeth remained at home. Deeply sympathizing with them, he comforts them, urges them to treat their stepmother with respect, and touchingly alludes to their father's unfortunate condition, his growing infirmities, and his sincere affection for and devotion to his children.

The first academic year rolled rapidly away. One day, as the examination drew near, Halleck and Biddle were comparing notes as to the prospects. "That little Stevens," said the former, "is driving ahead like the devil, and he is sure to be first in mathematics. I don't think he can beat me in French, at any rate." "And I am sure," rejoined Biddle, "that he cannot touch me in drawing next year. One thing I have made up my mind to, — if he gains the head of the class over me, I shall resign." This dialogue was overheard, and repeated to "little Stevens," who related it in after years with some amusement.

He had pursued his object with unflagging zeal, energy, and determination during the year, but, reflecting how heavily he was handicapped in the race by men like Biddle, Butler, and Halleck, so much older and farther advanced in their studies at the beginning, he might well feel anxious. He entered the examination room, as he describes it, cool and collected, with nerves high-strung yet under perfect control, and fully determined to come out ahead. He was not disappointed. He rose to the first place, — a place, once achieved, which no competitor was to wrest from him.

CAMP JONES, July 6, 1836.

DEAR UNCLE, — I received your letter by Mr. Johnson, and although short it was very acceptable. . . . We had a fine time on the Fourth of July, an oration, dinner, etc. I had a great desire to spend the Fourth at New York city. I applied and obtained a leave of two days, commencing on Sunday noon and ending on Tuesday; had a very fine time, — went to the Navy Yard, Brooklyn, got introduced to about half a dozen midshipmen, etc. The military were out, as well as several societies. In the evening I went to the theatre, where Celeste danced *as usual*.

Since we have been in camp we have had a very easy time, nothing to do but go on guard two or three times per week, attend roll calls and dress parades. Next week we will be drilled three times per day as well as recite in infantry tactics, and attend the dancing-school. I have come to the determination to study French this encampment: shall commence next week. I cannot reasonably expect to keep my present standing in that branch unless I exert myself. I can translate quite readily, but I write quite indifferently, and can speak it but very little, whereas there are three immediately below me who can read, write, and speak the language very well. Why the Board placed me above them is more than I can conceive. Two of them have told me they *would rise me*, and I have told them they *should not do it*. If they *do* rise me, I shall not complain; and if they do not, so much the better. As to mathematics, I have no cause for fear, — both Biddle and Halleck admit I ought to stand head, and my professor had no doubts about who should be placed there. As soon as we reënter barracks, we commence drawing. Success in this branch depends as much (and perhaps even more) upon persevering application as on a natural taste. I intend to do my very best, otherwise I shall fall very much in general merit, even should I keep my standing in other branches. Biddle will stand head, or near the head, in D., as he now draws very well. If he was third in D. and I was twelfth, he would rise me in general merit. Our merit rolls will be published in about two weeks. I am entitled to five, and shall send one home. In this roll the standing of every cadet, the class to which he belongs, and the number of his demerits are published. Mass. stands better in my class than any other State. Greene and Grafton, both from Boston, stand ninth and tenth. But there was one from Salem found deficient in French, although he passed well in M. I think he is a smart fellow, and will stand high next year. His name is Humber. He had been a sailor for six years, and French came very hard to him by reason of the very limited knowledge he had of language. I suppose that the farmers must have begun haying in good earnest. I should much prefer working on a farm for two or three months to the life I now lead. It is now thirteen months since I have done any work to which I have hitherto been accustomed, and I shall probably *soon get my hand out*. Many of the cadets, chiefly those who come from the slavery States, have a great contempt for our Yankee farmers, and even pretend to compare them with their slaves. They have the greatest contempt for all those who gain a subsistence by the sweat of their brows. For my own part I shall always respect every man who is honest and industrious, and more particularly those who live in the manner that has been ordained by God himself; and whenever any man, in conversation with me or in my hearing, compares that class, of which I am proud to be one, with slaves, I shall always consider it as an insult offered to myself, and shall act accordingly. Remember me to all inquiring friends. Write when convenient.

Your nephew,

Isaac I. Stevens.

Wm. Stevens, Esq.

Camp Jones, West Point, August 16, 1836.

Dear Uncle, — You probably have seen most of my letters that I have written home this encampment; you will see that I have taken things fair and easy, and have had quite a pleasant time. I can always get a permission to walk into the country whenever I ask for it, so that, between attending my military duties, dancing, rambling about in the country, and reading novels, I could not do otherwise than pass my time pleasantly. I cut rather a sorry figure dancing, as might be expected, but there is a chance for improvement, which I intend to make the best of.

There is a standing society in the corps called the Dialectic Society. Ten or fifteen persons are selected from each class except the fourth class, so that it consists of forty or fifty members. The society is continued by selecting the above number from every new class after it has been here one year. I intend to get elected into it, if possible. They have a fine collection of books to the amount of several hundred volumes. There are also many fine speakers in it, and many of them take great pains to improve themselves, even to the neglect of their studies. This is unquestionably bad policy. It is losing a dollar for the sake of saving a sixpence; but there is no kind of difficulty in paying proper attention to our studies, and improving ourselves in writing and speaking: by writing, I of course mean composing. If you will examine our merit rolls, you will see that Jennings and Halbert, of the second class, are among the deficients. These men were decidedly the best writers in the class, and the former was the orator on the Fourth of July. As it is always better to *act* than to *talk*, so they have missed it in neglecting their studies in order to become good speakers.

As I stand head in French, you may possibly suppose I can speak the language. Such is not the case; but one thing *is* certain, I am determined to be able to speak it one year from this time. But how I shall do it is another thing. I can write it some, but it will require great pains to be able to write it correctly and speak it fluently. Neither time nor patience shall be wanting on my part in order to accomplish both the above objects. As soon as we commence studying, I intend to have a talk with Mr. Bevard, the head teacher in French, and a most estimable man, about it, and do as he directs me.

In return for this I shall expect a good long letter, telling me all the news and giving me good advice. Remember me to all inquiring friends, to Aunt Eliza, and cousins Eliza, William, Susan, and George.

I remain your nephew,
Isaac I. Stevens.

Wm. Stevens, Esq.

West Point, September 1, 1836.

Dear Father, — In my letters you often have me write about my leave next year. I look forward to this with a great deal of pleasure. As you may well suppose, I want to see my friends very much. How long a leave had I better get? I can have ten weeks if I choose, or a shorter time. I am now a corporal, and shall probably be made a sergeant next June. If I get a leave of ten weeks, I cannot keep my office. But if I retain it, my leave will not exceed four or five weeks; but to make up for this I could get as long a leave the year after; whereas, if I resigned my office and took the ten weeks' leave, I could get no leave the next encampment. The office now is not worth much, but it is very well to have it when I am in the first class, for then I shall be made a lieutenant, if my conduct is good. What had I best do? If I continue to be head in mathematics, there is a chance of my being made an assistant professor in M. next year. Two of the cadet professors will then graduate, and their places will have to be filled. I do not think, however, it is best to place any dependence upon it. If there was an even chance of my being made such, I would not hesitate about resigning my office, if you should think it best to obtain a leave of ten weeks.

Your son,
Isaac I. Stevens.

Mr. Isaac Stevens.

West Point, September 2, 1836.

Dear Father, — Yesterday we commenced our studies. We entered the barracks the 30th of August. The ball on the 29th was a most splendid one, and the hall was very full. We made use of the mess-hall, which was decorated in fine style. Our band was present, and their performances served to increase their reputation. The ball was continued until after three o'clock, but I did not remain after half past one. It was estimated that nearly six hundred visitors were present. As this is the only thing of the kind we have during the year, the corps take unusual pains to have everything done in the best manner, and great care was taken that the whole should present quite a military appearance. Many of the lamps were encircled by brightly burnished bayonets, which served as reflectors. Directly in front of the hall was a battery of cannon, in rear of which sentinels were stationed to keep off those who had no right to be present. I enjoyed myself very much, and took part in several cotillions.

We marched into barracks the day after the ball, and were allowed a day or two to arrange things. My situation is much different now from what it was one year since. Now I have attained a situation which then I scarcely hoped for. Now I am surrounded with my classmates and friends, when one year since I had no friends; for we were strangers to each other, and consequently displayed that cold civility, and uttered those unmeaning compliments, which distinguish the intercourse of strangers. One year since I was unknown to the officers of the institution; now I trust I have secured the confidence and esteem of those with whom I have come in contact. Then I was a *poor plebe*, who had not passed his January examination; now I no longer bear that title, but possess the privileges and the name of an *old cadet*.

The fourth class is a very large one, upwards of a hundred. Next June I do not believe upwards of sixty will be left, and it is doubtful whether upwards of forty-five graduate, so many are found deficient and discharged. My room-mates are the same as last year, with the exception of Mr. Bacon. I think we shall always room together, at least I hope so. Both Carpenter and Callender are hard students and steady fellows.

The former is a very smart man. The latter you will find, by reference to some of my old letters, roomed with me before January, resigned, and was reappointed this year. I do not expect to stand first next January, but think my standing will not be below second. Drawing will come hard to me, and I shall stand quite low the first three or four months. No efforts of my own shall be wanting to secure a good standing in this branch. We spend six hours per week in the drawing academy, but I intend to practice twelve hours per week in my own room.

Your son,
Isaac A. Stevens.

Mr. Isaac Stevens.

From early boyhood General Stevens made a strong impression upon every one he met. Undersized, and at first glance insignificant in appearance, his intense individuality and intellect were always deeply felt. At once he commanded the respect of the professors at the academy; and their recollections of him, and of his characteristics, were still vivid after the lapse of forty years, and the continual passing of an army of youth before their eyes. Said Professor W. H. C. Bartlett, July 16, 1877, who was professor of natural and experimental philosophy: —

"General Stevens was a small, undersized young man when he entered West Point, very modest in demeanor. He had the habit of speaking carefully and distinctly, and of clearly and precisely expressing the exact idea he wished to convey. His mind was comprehensive, given to generalizations; he had the faculty of generalizing, of always thinking out first principles. In solving a mathematical problem, he would apply the principles which governed the class of problems, and not simply seek a solution of the single one before him. He was very early regarded by the faculty as a man of great talent and promise, sure to take a high stand in his class and in the world. He was popular with his class, but his popularity arose more from their opinion of his abilities than from social qualities. The professors soon felt that whatever he said was worthy of attention. I recollect that he took an active part in the Dialectic Society, and recollect his moving the books and busying himself in the room. Biddle was his competitor for the headship of the class, and after he left there was practically no one to contest the honors with him.

"Halleck's was an entirely different mind from Stevens's, — less comprehensive, less devoted to original research, to principles. Halleck was strong in history, in precedents.

"I recollect Stevens's answer when a witness before a court of inquiry, — how he knew that a party had done so and so, — if he had said so. 'No,' replied he, 'he did not say so, but what he said and his manner combined convinced me of the fact; and the manner is a great part of any conversation.' When he graduated, he stood not only at the head of his class, but among the highest that ever graduated from the academy."

Professor A. E. Church (of mathematics) writes July 27, 1877: —

"My recollection of your father as a cadet at West Point is very vivid. I remember him as an earnest, industrious student, strictly attentive to every duty. He possessed mathematical talents of the highest order, standing in this branch, as in every other, at the head of his class, notwithstanding rival classmates of great abilities. A distinguishing trait which he possessed in a remarkable degree, and, from what I know of his after life, continued ever prominent, was an unhesitating readiness to apply and carry on strictly and systematically every principle he had learned, never failing to come to the right result.

"While others were pondering over the intricacies of a mathematical proposition, often in vain seeking some shorter way or more curious result, he seemed at once to grasp the most practicable rule, and straight onward to pursue it to an end which admitted of no doubt.

"Though admirably adapted for a military commander and great engineer, had he selected the profession of the law he would have been prominent among the most distinguished lawyers of the age. His early death was a serious loss to the army and country, and with his many friends was sincerely mourned by myself."

The grasp and thoroughness of his mind, his power of generalization, of seeking and mastering first principles, which Mr. Hazen remarked in the boy, impressed the West Point professors, too, as the prominent mental characteristic of the youth.

Says General Zealous B. Tower: —

"I roomed with Cadet Stevens for four months in one of the small rooms in the south barracks. Stephen D. Carpenter was the other occupant of that limited living and bed room. Each cadet was provided with a small mattress, to be spread upon the floor when needed, and when unoccupied to be rolled up in its canvas, well strapped, and put into a corner of the room. Later, iron bedsteads were introduced, but the mattresses were never unrolled and spread until the hour for retiring. A cadet inspector visited the rooms half an hour after reveille; the officer of the day also inspected them, and the company officers also went the rounds. Tattoo at 9.30 P. M. was the signal for retiring, and taps at ten P. M. for putting out all lights, when one of the officers again inspected each 'stoup,' or floor, of the barracks.

"Stevens's duties as assistant professor of mathematics occupied an hour and a half each day, taking that portion of time from his study hours; but it did not interfere with his studies, for he possessed quick intelligence, and great concentration of his mental powers. This faculty was very pronounced, and would have given him distinction in any profession that he might have undertaken, and the more so that it was allied to industrious habits and an enthusiastic nature. He never plodded over his lessons, but often finished them in half the time allotted to their acquisition. Stevens was a pleasant room-mate, being very genial, kind, and considerate to others. He never failed in his friendships, or in anything that appeared a duty to his fellows. He was popular among those of his associates who valued sterling, manly qualities, and among the most prominent members of his corps. He spoke rapidly when a matter of interest engaged his attention, for he thought rapidly. Though rather short in stature, his large head and very expressive, intelligent eyes made him noticeable and attractive in conversation, engaging the marked attention of his auditors. His enthusiasm and strong convictions gave an energy to his manner of discussing favorite topics that lent the charm of eloquence to his speech."

West Point, March 11, 1836.

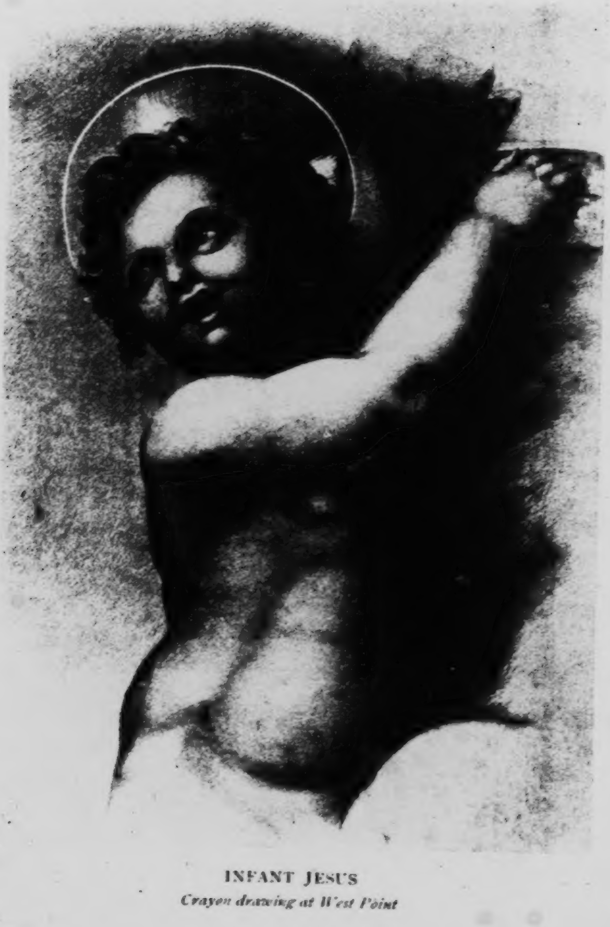
Dear Father, — Last week we commenced Calculus. This is considered the most difficult branch of mathematics. Our text-book is a compilation from the most distinguished French mathematicians by Professor Davies. We have about ten pages per lesson, and will be about five weeks going through it. We next study surveying, which ends our course in mathematics.

Since the examination I have attended the drawing academy every day, the regular attendance being every other day. Were I two files higher in this branch, it would put me head in general merit. I am now drawing our Saviour, represented as a child. I have been at work on it for about four weeks. It will probably take me eight weeks more to finish it. It is very slow work, I assure you, but as our standing depends entirely upon the excellence and not upon the number of pieces, I consider the time is not lost, provided what I do is done well.

It seems there is a very great excitement in Congress respecting the slavery question. It must afford pleasure to every friend of free discussion to learn that the South did not succeed in the resolutions censuring Mr. Adams. At the same time, I think he is unnecessarily agitating this dangerous question, and that his zeal will tend to awaken only feelings and desires which should never be cherished. Is not the dissolution of the Union a subject of fearful foreboding? Ought then the sages of our land like Mr. Adams at this time to agitate a question which in the opinion of the South infringes upon their rights, and which, inflexible as we know them to be in their maintenance, will cause them to look upon a secession from the Union as the only means of preserving them? The South are sensible of the evils of slavery. They deplore the existence of this curse, entailed upon them against their consent by the arbitrary decrees of England, and I believe that (if left to themselves) they will adopt some measures to rid themselves of it.

Your son,

Isaac I. Stevens.



INFANT JESUS

Crayon drawing at West Point

West Point, March 5, 1836.

Dear Sister, — I received your letter this morning informing me of aunt Eliza's death. She was certainly the finest woman I ever knew, and the remembrance of her engaging qualities will long be cherished. Uncle William is very much to be pitied.

Have you any school in view now for next summer? You also appear to be very much interested in Latin. I detested Latin when I first commenced to study it, but I soon brought myself to like it. So it is with drawing. I take more pleasure in drawing than in anything else. I like it full as well as reading novels. In my last you will recollect that I wrote of the piece I was then drawing. I have now got it most half done. I was all last week (two hours per day) drawing one eye, a part of another one, and one curl of hair. You can see by this that I draw very slowly, much slower than any one in my class. The time spent in the drawing academy seems shorter than any other part of the day, and I have not yet felt any impatience at my slowness in drawing since I have commenced my last piece, a sure sign that I like it very much.

Your brother,

Isaac I. Stevens.

Miss Susan B. Stevens.

Dear Sister Elizabeth, — You spoke of Mr. Maynard thinking I ought to be content with my present standing, and ought not to expect to stand higher. Be that as it may, one thing *is* certain, that I will *never* cease to try for number one till I have got it again, and were I convinced that it was almost an impossibility, I would still *try*. I like the reply of General Miller to his superior officer in the last war, when, being directed to attack and carry a battery of cannon on an almost inaccessible eminence, the silencing of which was indispensable, made this answer only, 'I will try,' and with the most determined courage carried it in an almost incredibly short space of time. I don't like *backing out;* it is contemptible. I shall, however, be contented with whatever standing is given me, and since I have been here I have always endeavored to prepare myself for any contingency. This is absolutely necessary. It is the only way to guard against envy, jealousy, and all those mean and degrading passions to which the human heart is prone. Harry Biddle and myself are now the only members of our class who are contending for head, yet I don't believe there are two men in the class on better terms. He is one of the finest young men I ever knew; and although he was very much disappointed last June, he never uttered a word showing he harbored the least ill-will against me. When the result of the June examination was known, he came and congratulated me, but told me he meant to rise me. In January it appeared he had redeemed his word, and so I went and congratulated him, and balanced the account. This is the only way to get along, for if we allow those passions I have mentioned to obtain the least ascendency over us, it will render us disagreeable and unhappy. There are eleven of us in four rooms, which are contiguous to each other, who are all good friends, and we enjoy ourselves as much as any other eleven men in the corps.

At the end of the second academic year he again stood head of his class, and had the pleasure of announcing his success to his father. He stood seventeen on the conduct roll, having eleven demerits.

West Point, June 18, 1836.

Dear Father, — I received a letter from Oliver a few days since. He says he is "going a-gunning" on his birthday, and wishes me to be at home to keep him company. I wish this could be the case, but under present circumstances I shall not come home until the last of July, and my leave will last but four weeks only. I did not know this till about a week ago, and I have deferred writing to be able to give you my standing. The examination was closed yesterday. My standing is first in mathematics, first in French, and fourth in drawing, which puts me head in general merit. Mr. Biddle is second in M., third in F., and first in D. I presume you will be satisfied with this. You recollect that Mr. Biddle rose me in French last January, and I suppose that rising him again this June will make it all right again. I had very good luck indeed, and my recitation in mathematics was much better than at any previous examination. We march into camp on Tuesday. It is to be called Camp Poinsett, as a compliment to the Secretary of War.

In July he returned home, after an absence of two years, to spend the brief leave of a month. He had foregone one the previous year, partly on the score of economy, at his father's suggestion, and it was with a heart full of joy and glad anticipations that he hastened to visit the loved ones at home, and the dear and familiar scenes of his childhood.

Isaac must have keenly enjoyed this visit. His sisters were proud of him, and overjoyed at his return. He had surpassed the most sanguine hopes of his friends, and on every hand met with a warm welcome. His success at the academy, his cadet uniform, and his erect, soldierly bearing invested him in the eyes of the community with the new-found respect and importance accorded to rising and promising young manhood. His cousin Henry, writing after his return to the Point, says: "If you look as dignified as you did when you were here, I do not wonder that you are beyond suspicion. I should like very much to see one hundred cadets playing at football. Do you run as erect as you walk?" West Point drill and discipline, however, had not abated his adventurous spirit, or love of the sports natural to his age. Sailing on the Great Pond with a number of companions, and the wind having died out, for pastime he climbed to the top of the mast, which suddenly broke and let him fall headlong into the lake. On another occasion he was poling a boat with his little brother up the Cochichewick towards the "Hatch," as the point where the stream flowed out of the Great Pond was called, when the oar stuck fast in the tenacious mud of the bottom, and, grasping it too firmly, Isaac lost his foothold, and was dragged over the stern into the mingled mud and water, to the sad defilement of his speckless white cadet trousers. Exasperated at this ridiculous accident, he swore lustily, calling upon Oliver in no gentle tones to bring back the boat.

CHAPTER IV

WEST POINT. — LAST TWO YEARS

Returning to the Point after this brief respite, the young cadet resumed his studies with his accustomed vigor. He was appointed assistant professor of mathematics, a position of additional labor as well as honor, which he retained to the end of his course. Moreover, he took an active part in the Dialectic Society, which as a "plebe" he looked forward to joining. In a letter to Mr. Hazen he recounts his early efforts in debate: —

"You are probably aware that we have a debating society here, of which I have the honor to be a member. Last evening (we hold our meetings on Saturday evenings) we had an animated debate on the expediency of studying the *dead languages.* It was the only tolerable one we have had this fall. Some pretty good speeches were made. One was particularly fine. Mr. Jennings, the person to whom I allude, in my opinion was made for an orator. He is undoubtedly a man of a large mind, and expresses himself admirably. His delivery is very good, and his diction is choice and effective. Declamation is one of the regular exercises; and as my turn came round, I had the pleasure of unburdening myself of a short piece, and of being most woefully used up by the critical, who are regularly appointed for such performance. This is not very encouraging, to be sure. I must, however, acquit myself better next time.

"You are probably aware of the great defects in our course of study. It is not calculated generally to strengthen and improve the mind as much as a four years' course of study should. Some of the faculties are developed in a high degree, whilst others are almost entirely neglected; its effect is — if the expression can be used — to cast the mind in a rough, strong mould, without embellishing or polishing it. Its effect is also (perhaps no more than any other regular course of study) to confine our attention to particular pursuits, and make us neglect all that general information which is essential to a man of liberal education, and in fact absolutely indispensable for any one who engages in the actual pursuits of life. Don't you believe it is of greater advantage to a person to have a good idea of political economy, or a knowledge of the elementary principles of composition, than to be able to solve some abstruse problem in mathematics?

"I almost wish I could content myself with standing about fifth in my class. I could then spend three or four hours a day in reading and getting valuable information, and could improve myself in composition. I might also cultivate a taste for the higher branches of literature, my taste for all which at present, except novels, is about at the zero point. As it is, I am obliged to work hard to get an hour a day to devote to reading; and as I consider history and solid works of that nature most valuable, I have been able to read but one novel within the last three months. I have been reading some of the speeches in 'British Eloquence' of late; also in the 'Eloquence of the United States.' Do you think the characters of Pitt, Fox, and Burke, as described by the author in the former work, are correct? My former ideas of Chatham were somewhat different. The author makes him out a more selfish man than I supposed him to be. A few days since I picked up a volume of Phillips's Speeches, and read most of them. Is not his speech in the case of Blake *v.* Wilkins admirable? What do you think of them generally? It seems to me there is more of the pomp of words than real, effective oratory in them. He has too much pathos in some of his speeches. A little of it, and sometimes much of it, produces a very good effect; but where it is nothing but a pathetic appeal to the feelings, the effect is destroyed, at least with people of sense."

This letter shows that the youth was beginning to think for himself, and to weigh things according to his own ideas. The arduous course of study he was pursuing did not wholly engross his attention. He soon became the leading member of the Dialectic, active in getting up lectures and other literary exercises. Nor was he simply a bookworm. "The eleven of us, in contiguous rooms, who are all good friends, and enjoy ourselves as much as any other eleven men in the class," derived some of their enjoyment from breaking the rigid rules of the institution, and in hairbreadth escapes from detection. They used to run over to Benny's without leave. They would bring pies and other edibles into barracks buttoned up under their coats, and, after the post was wrapped in slumber, would indulge in these forbidden sweets. His companions ofttimes complained that Stevens would learn his lessons in a minute, and then come about, making a racket, and disturbing them in their studies. He used to take long walks and excursions about the neighboring country.

Naturally active and fearless, he became a fine horseman, and always appeared to best advantage when mounted, where his erect figure and soldierly bearing gave him the effect of higher stature than when on foot.

In winter the cadets were in the habit of skating on the river. Isaac, light, active, and fearless, and exceedingly adventurous, delighted to skim full speed over the thinnest ice he could find, which bent and crackled under his skates. His companions kept remonstrating with and forewarning him of a catastrophe, which in his case never occurred. One extremely cold day, however, one of his associates broke through the ice and fell into the river. They rescued him with some difficulty, and bore him dripping wet to the barracks in all haste, but the unlucky youth was nearly frozen when they carried him into his room. His mates at once set to work making a hot fire, and bringing blankets, etc. But Isaac now took the lead, as the commanding spirit always does in a real emergency. He caused them to put out the fire, throw open all the windows, and to vigorously rub the insensible youth with snow brought from the outside until his circulation was restored, and the frost taken out of his benumbed extremities, when he suffered them to rebuild the fire and renew the warm comforts, both solid and liquid.

His uncle Moses, a distinguished teacher, settled in Nashville, Tenn., visited West Point this fall; and his father writes, "Your uncle Moses speaks of your acquirements in rather extravagant terms."

During the winter his father's health was poor, and he suffered much from his injured leg. Oliver alone remained at home. Hannah was in Haverhill, attending school, and supporting herself by her needle; Sarah was in Lowell, working in a factory; Elizabeth was at Belfast, Maine, visiting an aunt, and attending school; Mary was at Methuen; and Susan was attending school at the South Parish. The latter, a girl of warm heart and lively sensibilities, had not been satisfied with the sober Unitarianism of her family, and had become attached to the "Orthodox," or ancient Puritan faith, a sincere and somewhat enthusiastic convert. The letters of these motherless girls, thus scattered about, reveal a touching picture of their earnest desire and efforts for study and self-improvement, their tender affection for their father, and their endeavor to treat their stepmother with respect and affection. It was to their brother Isaac that they resorted for comfort and guidance. They confided to his warm and sympathetic heart all their troubles, aspirations, and plans, and constantly sought his advice. The noble old man at the farm, too, had come to rely upon the manly character and sound judgment of the youth of nineteen at West Point. He writes of the difficulty of making both ends meet, of his earnest desire to give more schooling to his three younger daughters, and of preserving intact for his children the little property he had accumulated so laboriously. He asks Isaac to write and advise

Susan, who he thinks lacks stability, and Hannah. He entreats his son to come home every summer vacation.

West Point, December 17, 1836.

Dear Father, — It was with much concern I heard of your lameness, and I am very much afraid it will prove more serious than you seem to be aware of. You ought not to think yourself obliged to work, when it is of manifest injury to you. You are now getting to be along in years, and you have done hard work enough. You ought now to think of making yourself comfortable. I *do* hope you will be careful about exposing yourself, and will endeavor to enjoy the little property which you have accumulated with so much toil. Your children, you may be assured, had much rather that it should all be consumed in making your declining years pleasant and happy, than receive a single cent of it themselves. I think you will do wrong to feel the least anxiety about leaving property to your children. You have evinced the greatest affection for us, and the utmost disinterestedness in consulting the welfare of your children, and it is our duty to make every return in our power. Believe me, we will endeavor to exert our utmost in order to secure the happiness of the remaining period of your life, and we ask of you, as a favor, no longer to undergo the toil and exposure to which you have hitherto been accustomed.

I wish I could have been at home Thanksgiving time. Three successive Thanksgivings have seen my absence from home, and it is very probable that three more will pass away without allowing me the opportunity of spending them at home. As it is, I hope I shall be enabled to pass two or three weeks at home next summer, but it is very uncertain. The superintendent has come to the conclusion no longer to permit the members of the first class to be absent on leave during the encampment, and it will be very difficult to obtain a leave unless the application is *backed* by very urgent reasons.

At last Susan decided to go to Missouri, encouraged by the favorable reports of relatives who had moved thither, and hoping to find a more promising field as a teacher. In May, 1838, her father accompanied her to Port Labadie, situated on the Missouri River, some miles above St. Louis. Here she found kind friends, and met with tolerable success in her chosen vocation.

At the June examination of 1838 Isaac again stood at the head of his class. On the conduct roll he was number twenty-three, with twenty demerits. He spent part of the summer leave at home. Returning to the Point, he made a pedestrian trip to Philadelphia with a classmate, in the course of which they were thoroughly drenched in a rainstorm.

The following letter exhibits his patriotic indignation at the British aggressions on the Maine frontier, a precursor of the spirit with which he resisted and defeated similar aggressions on the extreme northwest in after years:—

West Point, August 21, 1838.

Dear Father,—You must have seen from the papers that the executive of the State of Maine is making preparations to carry into effect the resolutions of its legislature, and that the commissioners will be supported in the running of the boundary line by the whole military force of the State. Kent has pursued a course alike honorable to himself and the State which he represents. If the national government shows itself so regardless of the honor and interests of a State as has been evinced by the cold indifference with which negotiations for the last fifty years have been carried on, it becomes the solemn duty of the sovereignty thus trampled upon to rise and maintain its own rights. This fawning subserviency to expediency in a matter of principle I despise. So does every honorable man; better die in a just cause than live by an abandonment of it. I have sufficient confidence in the virtue and patriotism of the people of Maine to believe that they will triumphantly sustain their executive in his energetic and honorable measures. Should there be actual resistance and the difficulty resolve itself into an open conflict, the government *dare* not withhold its prompt assistance. The whole Senate, without a single dissentient voice, have borne witness to the fallacy and gross injus-

> tice of the claim made by the British crown upon the lands in question. Was this meant to vanish into thin air? The 4th regiment of artillery are now in New York city. Why not send them to the east? They are certainly wanted on the boundary.

He had frequently remonstrated with his father for treating Oliver with too exacting strictness, and he now urged him to send the boy to college as soon as he became old enough. In reply the father declares: —

> "As to Oliver's going to college, it is out of the question. A great many boys are ruined by going to college that would have made useful men if they had been put to some trade, or compelled to be industrious. By the most rigid economy I can adopt, the income of the farm will not pay my expenses. I am willing to rise early, work late, live on simple fare, but dunning letters I detest; rather live on two meals a day. I would advise every young man, who means to be punctual, and honest, to keep out of debt."

Oliver, however, in due time entered Bowdoin College, Maine, with the consent and aid of his father; graduated well, and became a successful lawyer in Boston, where he has held the position of district attorney for nearly thirty years.

He urges Oliver to cultivate a taste for solid reading, and assures him that a taste for any subject can be acquired when the determination is fixed upon it.

> "Let me advise you to get Plutarch's Lives, and read them. Plutarch, you know, is a celebrated Roman author. His Lives of the distinguished men of Greece and Rome has justly immortalized his name, and it will live as long as the men whose actions he has related are admired. The style is simple and unaffected. He has seized upon the principal events in the life of each; relates to us many anecdotes of their efforts, of their disappointments and failures; then he describes in bold and feeling language that untiring industry, that patient and ceaseless thought, which overcame every difficulty. Read the lives

of Cicero and Demosthenes, Nicias and Phocion. When you next write, tell me what you think of them. Another work I want you to read; it is Sparks's 'American Biography.' We should certainly be intimately acquainted with the deeds and characters of our own great men. Have you ever read any volumes of the 'Spectator'? There are, I think, ten volumes of them, consisting of essays of four or five pages each upon all subjects. The style is flowing and graceful, exceedingly interesting; a vein of wit and sprightliness pervades them all.

"For myself, things have gone smoothly on since I was at home. My daily duties are all sources of pleasure. This renders me satisfied with myself and with all around me. I am never afflicted with low spirits, or with feelings of discontent,—all this for the simple reason that all my time is interestingly employed.

"Have you finished harvesting? Did you gather many walnuts? We have a large number of chestnut-trees at West Point. I have gathered quite an abundance of them."

TO HIS FATHER.

November 17.

Dear Father,—I have just come from the meeting of our society. Our proceedings are quite good, and there is an evident improvement every evening. It is indeed much better to employ Saturday evening in listening to, and participating in, a debate on some interesting subject than staying in one's room reading novels, or perhaps doing nothing. We had quite an animated discussion the other evening on the justice of lynch law. We got very warm; indeed, the debate came very near merging into the discussion of abolition. This, you are aware, is a very tender subject, and, for our society, a very improper one. For my own part I got very much excited, and my free avowal of abolition principles did not tend to allay the feeling which existed among the members.

You can well suppose that I am looking forward to graduating with much interest. My entering this institution I consider my first important step in life. I have succeeded better than I have ever had any right to anticipate. I have endeavored to make it my rule never to relinquish any undertaking, but always to *try* till success crowned my efforts. I have thus got along pretty well. I have not the slightest doubt that I shall succeed well enough as long as my efforts are carried on in a proper spirit, which is never to rely too confidently on success, and to bear every disappointment with a good grace.

I feel much anxiety to see Oliver improve. These long winter evenings should not be trifled away. Oliver might study, read to the family, or otherwise improve his time, till half past nine o'clock. If he should be disposed to read any longer, let him have a good warm fire, and his reading will not be thrown away. You are, I know, a great admirer of Franklin. He used to study until twelve at night when obliged to work hard all day. How could Oliver and the girls, if any are at home, pass the time better than reading or studying till perhaps ten in the evening?

TO HANNAH.

January 27, 1839.

DEAR SISTER, — It may be said that Scott and Addison are elegant writers. Johnson, that intellectual giant, said that whoever wished to become a perfect writer must give up his days and nights to Addison. The style of Addison is peculiarly easy and harmonious, the very music of composition; and although not so deep and original a thinker as many whose styles are less attractive, his works will always be admired for their sound views on moral and religious subjects. Scott, you know, has been called the *magician*, and excelled all his contemporaries in the ease, rapidity, and finish of his performances. The last volume of his "Waverley" was written in one week, and his novels were ushered into the reading community with so rapid a succession as astonished every one. Some think that Scott excelled as a poet, and, wonderful as he was as a writer of romance, he was still more successful in verse. Some of his poetry and a few of his novels are well worth reading. His "Lady of the Lake" and "Ivanhoe" are much admired. The "Tales of my Landlord" and "Guy Mannering" also are very fine. There is a little volume of poetry, called "The Book of Pleasures," which I intend to read, the first opportunity. It contains The Pleasures of Memory, of Hope, and of the Imagination, all three beautiful poems. You had better read them, if they are to be obtained.

Our examinations are finished, and we are again under full sail for the next, and, for myself, last examination. The result of the present is, head in three branches and second in the fourth. The last five months I spend at West Point should be employed to better advantage than any other five months before. I have marked out for myself a pretty severe course of study, by which I shall endeavor to abide. When I graduate, it will be a satisfaction to look back upon my four years' course, and feel a consciousness that I have improved my opportunities. After graduating, where I shall be stationed is uncertain. But I shall endeavor to get ordered to Boston under Colonel Thayer. There are extensive fortifications now erecting in Boston harbor on George's Island. It would be a capital chance to be employed upon them, particularly when the superintendent of the works is so distinguished a man as Colonel Thayer. There are reasons, which you can well imagine, why I wish to be near home.

He must have been an omnivorous and rapid reader to have mastered Franklin, Plutarch, Addison, Scott, Rollin's Ancient History, besides poetry, speeches, and novels; one wonders where he could have found the time, but he was ever working at high pressure. In addition to the hard work necessary to retain the headship of the class, and to discharge the duties of assistant professor, he took the most active and leading part in the Dialectic, and delivered the valedictory address at the graduation of the class. He also founded "The Talisman," a journal for the practice and improvement of the cadets in composition. In the introductory address, which he wrote as editor, he presents his views of the need for, and objects of, the paper in glowing language, concluding: —

"We have thus announced our intention of establishing a paper. Its character will be readily understood from the preceding exposition of our views. We shall hoist the white flag, emblematic of our motives and intentions. On it shall be inscribed in golden letters *The Talisman.* This flag will we defend with our life's blood; and when expiring nature is about to give up her last hold upon us, we will wave it aloft in triumph and die beneath its shadow."

In a letter to his uncle William he gives an amusing account of anonymously criticising his own effusions: —

"Several of us have amused ourselves in writing a paper, which we have called 'The Talisman,' and having it read at the meetings of the Dialectic. Our motto is, The Human Intellect the Universal Talisman. The best of the joke is, no one can divine who are concerned in it. Indeed, once I wrote a most famous blowing up of one of my own performances, and was extremely amused to have several of my friends console me; in fact, one told me he would not give a fig for these criticisms, to which I assented, asking him if he had any idea who were the editors of the paper, to which he replied in the negative. When we graduate next June, we wish to have an address delivered before the society by some able man. Do you think we could get Governor Everett?"

As already stated, Cadet Stevens was put forward by his classmates to deliver this address himself.

He contributed to "The Talisman" a series of articles, written in a simple, direct, and forcible style, and marked by an earnest tone and elevated sentiments, among which were "Agency of Steam in Mechanical Operations;" "In Jury Trials, ought the Twelve Jurors to be required to be Unanimous?" "Has Man a Conscience?" "The Importance of a Good Style of Writing to an Officer of the Army;" "History;" "The Proper Study of Mankind is Man."

His most intimate friends at the Point were Henry L. Smith, Jeremy F. Gilmer, Zealous B. Tower, Henry W. Halleck, Stephen D. Carpenter, Bryant P. Tilden, William B. Greene, Franklin D. Callender, John D. Bacon, Paul O. Hebert. Among these high-spirited and intellectual young men he was an acknowledged leader; and even after leaving the academy, they were continually calling on him for advice in their own affairs, and for aid in efforts to benefit the service, to secure increased rank and pay, etc.

Thus the last term sped rapidly away. At the examination he was first, as usual. He stood thirty on the conduct roll, having sixteen demerits. It will be observed that in "conduct" during the course he stood but little above the average. Evidently, with his spirited and vigorous nature, he did not mind infringing the rules at times. When the Academic Board reviewed the standing of the members of the class to award to each his proper grade, it was found that Cadet Stevens stood at the head, not only generally, but in every one of the studies. Moreover, his standing, as compared with all who had ever graduated from the institution, was among the first. This remarkable achievement, together with his strong personality, deeply impressed the officers of the academy. They were proud of their pupil, they felt that he reflected honor upon the institution, and they vied with each other in encomiums and attentions which they deemed his due.

He invited his father and stepmother to attend the graduation exercises, and they came. When they arrived they were astonished to see the honors heaped upon their son, and the high estimation in which he was held. They, too, were overwhelmed with attentions on his account. Prominent seats were found for them, and the professors came up to pay their respects to the parents of the first graduate, and to congratulate them upon his remarkable talents and promise.

CHAPTER V

NEWPORT

Crowned with these well-earned honors, and promoted to be second lieutenant of engineers, July 1, 1839, he accompanied his parents home, expecting to enjoy a long and delightful vacation; but his anticipations were speedily cut short by orders to proceed to Newport, R. I., to take part in the building of Fort Adams, so that he was permitted to spend only the Fourth of July in Andover.

Phrenology was in vogue then, and the young man, on his way through Boston, had his head examined by a professor of the new science, who, much to his amusement, pronounced him a poet. He reached his station early in July, and took quarters with Miss Castoff, who kept a boarding-house on the corner of Spring and Ann streets. Lieutenant James L. Mason, also of the engineer corps, boarded at the same place. The two young men became warm friends and companions. Daily they rode over to the fort together in the morning, and returned in the afternoon. Lieutenant P. G. T. Beauregard, afterwards the well-known Confederate general, was also on duty there as an engineer officer, and remained several months after Stevens's arrival. Fort Adams was garrisoned by a detachment of the 2d artillery, officered by Lieutenants Lewis G. Arnold, Arthur B. Lansing, and Henry J. Hunt.

Fort Adams, commenced twenty years previously, and now nearly completed under the able superintendence of General Joseph G. Totten, was the largest defensive work in the country, Fortress Monroe only excepted, and, as

General Cullum declares in his biographical sketch of General Totten, "the first in its combination of the principles and details of the art of fortification." It must have afforded a most gratifying field for the energies of the ardent and accomplished young officer, fresh from the military academy, and eager to test his acquirements and abilities in real work. The redoubt, the inner and separate stronghold in rear of the main work, was mostly built under his superintendence, 1839–42. Entering upon this duty with his accustomed zeal, his sound judgment in laying out the work for the workmen, and energy and diligence in pushing it, soon attracted attention. He took control with the self-reliance and habit of command of a natural leader. He was strict and exacting with the employees, but at the same time just and considerate, and took a real interest in them. He soon won their respect and goodwill. Even the man who groomed his horse, John A. C. Stacy, long years afterwards, when he had himself become a wealthy contractor, spoke of Lieutenant Stevens with the greatest admiration. His unconscious success in this direction nearly led to a breach with Mason. The latter became cold and distant in manner, and openly avoided him. Stevens demanded an explanation, whereupon Mason burst forth indignantly with the charge, "You are destroying all my influence with the men on the work. When you appear, they hang upon every word you utter, and cannot do enough for you, while they scarcely notice me, although I am the senior, and have been longer on the work." But Mason was soon satisfied by his friend's remonstrances, and his own good sense, that Stevens was not to blame for that result. Mason was a man of remarkable talents, brilliant in conversation, and fascinating in social intercourse.

Newport at this time contained many old families, among which the traditions of colonial grandeur, when the port was the largest and most flourishing city in the colonies, mingled with the fresher recollections of the Revolution, the British occupation, the battle of Rhode Island, the romantic capture of General Prescott, the English commander, the brilliant though brief sojourn of the French allies under Rochambeau, and the visit of Washington. The town was celebrated for beautiful and charming girls. It was the resort in summer of the cultivated, wealthy, and fashionable from other parts of the country, especially from the South. The Hazards, Lymans, Randolphs, Vernons, Lawtons, Hunters, Kings, Turners, Gardiners, Fowlers, Gibbs, Tottens, Perrys, and others, all more or less related, afforded a cultivated and high-toned, yet simple and cordial society, free from the ostentation of wealth and the absurd pride of caste. The army and naval officers stationed there, and the families of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, the hero of Lake Erie, of General Totten, and of others who had served their country, added a patriotic and military element. Into this charming society the young officer entered with keen enjoyment, and his modest demeanor and sensible conversation, not less than his reputation for ability and scholarship, soon made him welcome.

One of these Newport belles thus described him: —

> "The first time I saw Mr. Stevens was in church. He sat in the pew behind ours. He was very young, of small, slight figure, had a very large head, with fine carriage, — a noble head, thick, bushy, black hair, and dark complexion. He was considered very homely, but he had a large, dark hazel eye, which looked one through and through, and compelled one's attention."

Notwithstanding that "he was considered very homely," young Stevens took an active part in the social life and festivities of the town, calling upon the old families, escorting with other young men bevies of young ladies on delightful long walks to the beach, along the cliffs, the Blue Rocks, Tammany Hill, and other resorts, and attending the numerous parties.

It was at one of these rather informal, but enjoyable gatherings that he first met the young girl who was soon to become his wife. Mason had warned him to "beware of Margaret Hazard," as the two young men were setting out to attend a tea party at the Vernons' hospitable mansion, two miles out of town. The young lady was a daughter of Benjamin Hazard, for years recognized as the ablest lawyer and statesman in the State, who had represented the town in the state legislature for thirty-one years without a break, having been elected sixty-two times in succession. Although very young, she possessed many attractions of person and character, had many admirers, and was one of the acknowledged belles. Notwithstanding the friendly or jocose warning, Mr. Stevens was duly presented to Miss Hazard, and had the pleasure of escorting her home, and improved the opportunity by inviting her to ride on horseback the following afternoon. Miss Margaret lacked a suitable habit, it seems; but an old cloak skillfully adapted served for the long sweeping skirt then in vogue, a cousin furnished his new beaver for a riding-hat, and another admirer contributed a handsome silver-mounted riding-whip, so that when the cavalier presented himself on his gray charger with a groom leading the "Indian Queen," the young lady was ready. The "Indian Queen" was the name of a noted saddle-horse from the stable of Nicholas Hassard, who for many years kept the livery stable on Spring, or Back Street, corner of Touro. When asked if the "Indian Queen" was a safe horse for the young lady, Mr. Hassard replied, "Miss Margaret Hazard can ride any horse in my stable."

This ride led to others, and it was not long before the two rode over the beaches together nearly every pleasant afternoon. Mr. Stevens would come with the horses about five o'clock, and the usual ride was over the three beaches and around by the green End road; and a more romantic, beautiful, and pleasant course it would be hard to find.

A fearless horseman, he was fond of horses and of riding. He owned and delighted to ride a fiery gray, which ofttimes taxed all his strength, skill, and daring to master, and which occasionally ran away despite all efforts. Once the steed, with the bit in his teeth, dashed headlong for the stable. "Stevens is done for!" exclaimed Mason; "the stable door is too low to ride under, and his brains will be knocked out." But the rider threw himself along the side and neck of the furious animal just in time to avoid this danger.

Mason's warning was indeed in vain. Writes his intimate friend, H. L. Smith, as early as April:—

> "Not in love, Stevens; why, your description fired me. By heavens! it is a glorious thing to see a girl with a large soul. Would there were more such. 'Dark blue eyes;' 'Rides fearlessly;' 'Loves Channing, Carlyle, Milton;' 'A sweet smile,' etc."

He became a frequent caller upon, and intimate in the family of, Benjamin Hazard. The latter was slowly sinking under the lingering disease, consumption, which carried him off in 1841. The gifted and sympathetic young man would have long talks and discussions with the intellectual, learned, and experienced senior, and would read to him from his favorite authors, Swift and Shakespeare. "I think our young lieutenant is very handsome," remarked Mr. Hazard, doubtless alluding to his fine head and sound, bright mind, and perhaps quietly rebuking the disparaging term "homely." It was not long before he became an acknowledged suitor for the hand of Miss Margaret, and they were betrothed in the summer of 1840.

The mansion occupied by this family, situated on Broad Street, on the southern corner of Stone Street, and near the state house, is one of the oldest in Newport, the timbers of which, according to tradition, were cut and hewn in the woods between the harbor and the beach. By a curious coincidence it has descended in the female line for three generations. Before and during the Revolution it was the home of John G. Wanton, a wealthy colonial merchant and the son of the colonial governor, Gideon Wanton.

It was a favorite resort of the brilliant French officers who landed in Newport to aid the struggling patriots, one of whom cut with a diamond upon a small, old-fashioned window-pane in the great parlor, "Charming Polly Wanton, Oct. 17, 1780." But an American officer, Colonel Daniel Lyman, afterwards chief justice of Rhode Island and president of the Society of the Cincinnati in Rhode Island, married "Charming Polly" away from her French admirers.

Mary Wanton was an only daughter, and inherited the old mansion, where she reared a family of thirteen children, and dispensed the gracious hospitality to which she was accustomed.

One of her daughters, Harriet Lyman, married Benjamin Hazard, and upon the removal of Colonel Lyman and his family to Providence, succeeded to the old Newport homestead, which thus for generations was the scene of family happiness, worth, refinement, and hospitality. It is now owned and occupied by two of Benjamin Hazard's daughters, Misses Emily Lyman and Mary Wanton Hazard, who maintain the traditions of the old mansion with charming grace.

Now time speeds away rapidly and pleasantly with the young officer. He has long talks and discussions with Mason, noted for his brilliant mind and conversation. His official duties are congenial. He heartily enjoys the social pleasures in which he takes part, and moreover he lays out a stiff course of study for the winter. He writes uncle William, October 31, 1839:—

"My brother officer, Lieutenant Mason, is quite familiar with politics. He is a Nullifier. I am a loco-foco Abolitionist. Though we agree on many points, yet we have at times quite warm though very friendly debates upon these points upon which we differ. I shall be glad to spend most of the winter in study, and I think of giving about half my time to my profession and its kindred branches of physics and mathematics, and of the remaining portion a moiety to politics and the political history of our country (which will necessitate the careful reading and study of the Federalist and Madison papers, and other documents illustrative of the peculiar glories of our institutions), and the remainder to general reading."

TO HANNAH.

My situation at Newport continues to please me as much as ever. We are still pretty busy throughout the day, but are able to secure considerable time for reading and study.

I have been reading Byron's Poems of late. Although his verse is far inferior (in my opinion) to Shakespeare and Milton, still it has many and peculiar merits. Many of his productions are overflowing with lofty and correct ideas. No sycophantic awe, or respect for place and title, restrains his caustic and withering pen. He soars upon his own pinions, and looks down upon them all.

Thus his time was well occupied, yet he was also an indefatigable correspondent, writing frequently to his West Point classmates and friends, now beginning to scatter, and to his father, sisters, brother, and cousins, but especially to his sisters, whose welfare and happiness he had so much at heart. He is constantly sending them

OLD WANTON MANSION IN NEWPORT

books and papers, and advising them in regard to their studies and plans. Susan was still in Missouri, doing well as a teacher. During the fall Hannah was teaching school, or in Boston earning her livelihood in a store. Elizabeth and Sarah were at school, and only Mary and Oliver remained at home. The father, working too hard, had serious trouble with his injured leg, and was unwell. But it was a joyous reunion when the elder brother came home at Thanksgiving, and the scattered family were all assembled, except Susan, in the great roomy kitchen in the old farmhouse, around the well-filled board, loaded with the roast turkey and cranberry sauce, snowy biscuits, mince, pumpkin, and apple pies, cake, preserves, and all the good things of that generous and kindly season.

Returning to Newport, Lieutenant Stevens made one of a class for the study of German, although one may suspect that the language was not the only attraction. Charles T. Brooks, the gifted poet, preacher, and writer, and who has since translated so many poems and works from the German, was then settled over the Unitarian Church in Newport, and a few years previously had married Harriet Lyman Hazard, an elder sister of Margaret. An accomplished and enthusiastic German scholar, Mr. Brooks organized the class, and acted as their instructor. Mrs. Brooks, Mrs. Shroder, Miss Margaret L. Hazard, Miss Julia Randolph, Stevens, and Mason met regularly once a week at Mr. Brooks's house on Barney Street. An incident is related showing the facility with which Mr. Stevens acquired any subject which he undertook. Mr. Brooks one day asked him a difficult question in grammar, which he answered promptly. Another question was put with the same result. The teacher then plied him with question upon question, all of which he answered without hesitation. "Why," exclaimed Mr. Brooks, "you seem to know the whole grammar." "Oh, yes," replied Stevens, "I 've run it over."

A long and affectionate letter from Susan informed him of her marriage to David H. Bishop, a man of fine character, and engaged in the profession of an educator, on December 26, 1839. Mr. Stevens at once wrote to his new relative welcoming him in his hearty and warm-hearted manner, and a friendly correspondence ensued between them, which developed into a long and well-maintained political discussion, for Mr. Bishop was a Whig, while Stevens was an uncompromising Democrat, of Free-soil convictions, — "loco-foco Abolitionist," as he defines himself.

In April the fostering and indulgent grandmother, the widow of the Revolutionary soldier, Jonathan, died at an advanced age, attended during her last illness by Sarah. Mary, early in the year, visited aunt McFarland in Belfast, Maine. Elizabeth was in Lowell, and later also went to aunt McFarland, and only Sarah and Oliver remained at home this year.

His father's letters reveal how much he was coming to lean upon the self-reliant young man, and to feel the need of his support and affection. "I was glad to hear you say in your last letter that in matters relating to yourself you should be guided by your own judgment," he writes. In every letter he urges him to come home, if only for a short visit.

Dear Son, — In your letter to Oliver you mention not coming home until Thanksgiving. I hope it will be convenient for you to come home and spend a few days in the summer. Your visit in March was very short, but short as it was, it was better than none. I learn from you that you are far from being satisfied with your present attainments. Why should young men talk of having finished their education when in fact they have only commenced it, considering how much more they might learn if they would only press forward! May all you learn be sound and durable; one rotten piece of timber may wreck a ship. Do not study too hard. My days of anticipating worldly happiness are over (not so fast), I do anticipate seeing my children useful and happy.

Your father,
ISAAC STEVENS.

Lieutenant Stevens was promoted first lieutenant, corps of engineers, July 1, 1840.

His active and thoroughgoing mind, looking beyond the duties assigned him, saw the necessity of other works to complete the defenses at Newport. He wrote urgent letters to the Engineer Department in Washington, representing the need of a thorough survey of the harbor and the surrounding ground, and especially of the fortifying of Rose Island, which, situated in mid-channel between Rhode Island and Conanicut, and three miles north of, or inside Fort Adams, would supplement and support that work, and render the main entrance of Narragansett Bay impregnable to a hostile fleet. He was ambitious to plan and carry out the fortification of this point, but his recommendations were disregarded, and he was informed that his views, though sound, were premature. Of late years the importance of fortifying Rose Island has been recognized, and the government has erected a powerful battery there.

During the spring and summer his long-cherished idea of becoming a lawyer took more definite shape in his mind, as will be seen from the following letter to his uncle William, August 5, 1840: —

MY DEAR UNCLE, — You recollect that when last in Andover I was revolving in my mind the expediency of studying law, with a view of making it my permanent profession. Entering the West Point Academy with no idea of remaining in the army, my present occupation cannot be regarded as one that I have voluntarily and after mature reflection selected, but as one which circumstances and good luck have forced upon me. Therefore, in balancing the advantages and disadvantages of the army and the law in order to a decision of the question, Which shall I select as my occupation? I think I have nothing to do with certain objections that many would advance, that it would be changing my business, — it would betray a want of fixedness of purpose, — it would be an act of inconsistency. To be sure, some of the studies at West Point throw no light upon the law, but most of them contribute, and contribute in an eminent degree, to induce the habits and call out the faculties essential to the able lawyer. Something more is wanted, — as a knowledge of the classics, of ethics, of history. Three years' rigorous, systematic devotion of my leisure moments to these pursuits would more than place me on a level with the graduates of our colleges; by economy enough of my pay could be laid up to defray my expenses, should I then resign and go through a three years' study of the law. As the thing, therefore, can be accomplished, as the law for many reasons would suit me better than the army, as I have no false notions of delicacy on the ground of consistency, etc., I have at length concluded to give up the army for the law. As soon as I decided, I began to act. On that very day, about three weeks since, I commenced Latin and a course of reading in History. Greek I shall commence next November. As I do not wish justly to render myself liable to the charge of hastiness or obstinacy, I have determined to consult my friends. If they can adduce reasons against my course, I should be very much obliged if they would let me know them. The thought that one's course is approved by his friends is consolatory, — it serves to strengthen his confidence in his own judgment. It removes many cross currents that would impede his course. *You* it was that first suggested my application to enter the military academy. Though the military academy was not intended to make lawyers, yet in my case I hope it may be an example that "the longest way round is the shortest way home." I have been very fortunate in making the acquaintance of Mr. Benjamin Hazard, whom (by report) you must know. He has the reputation of being the first lawyer in the State, and is unquestionably *au fait* with his profession. He has been so kind as to give me a great deal of information both with regard to law and lawyers in this country, and the best method of studying law. Mr. Hazard lent me some time since Warner's Law Studies. I read it through twice very carefully, but much of what he said I thought totally inapplicable to the profession in this country, much that was contradictory, and some opinions I was confident were wrong. I wish you would write me soon and give me your opinion of my course, which is to remain in the army till the 1st of August, 1843, then to resign and enter some office in Boston or Newport for three years. From all I can learn, I think that Jeremiah Mason, of Boston, would be the man for me. Whether he takes students I know not. Webster, Mr. Hazard tells me, contends that Mason is the first lawyer in the country, — superior to himself. Remember me to your own family, and my friends generally.

Your nephew,
I. I. Stevens.

He also wrote on this subject to his father, Mr. Hazen, and H. L. Smith. All whom he consulted discouraged the project except his classmate, Smith. Mr. Hazen judiciously advises: —

> "It seems to me to be premature to determine quite so much at this time. It occurs to me that you might enter upon a course of legal reading, which would be useful to you in any station, uniting it with attention to military duties, which would consist with promotion in the army, and leave a little to the future to determine between the professions."

Although his increasing military duties, with his marriage and the Mexican war, compelled him to defer carrying out this plan, it was never definitely given up. The career open to him in the army did not satisfy his ambition, and at last in 1852 he resigned, seeking a wider field. Meantime he was keeping up his correspondence with his classmates and friends. Halleck writes: —

United States Military Academy,
West Point, February 9, 1840.

Dear Stevens, — It is now Sunday morning, and I know not that I can better employ the time that will elapse before old Jasper commences his oppression, than by writing an answer to your very kind letter of last Sabbath. I am happy to renew with you our old friendly intercourse. We have passed together four long years in mutual goodwill and then parted, I believe, as warm friends, and why should we now float away from each other towards the great ocean of eternity without ever exchanging a friendly hail? My old associates are still dear to me, and my lone heart sometimes softens when I think of the past spent in their society. Indeed, I have here become so disgusted with humbugs, toadeaters, and punsters, that my heart gladdens at the receipt of a letter from an old friend whom I know to be a reality and no sham.

We have been co-workers in at least one thing, the Dialectic, and I believe that to us as much or more than to any others, the society owes its present prosperity.

Sincerely yours,
H. W. Halleck.

Tilden, having become involved in a controversy with the authorities at the Point, comes to Newport to consult with Stevens, who takes up his case, advises him what to do, and writes Halleck, Smith, and others in his behalf. "My visit to Newport," writes Tilden, "was of essential service to me, and has served to strengthen the good resolutions suggested by yourself and example."

H. L. Smith, too, feeling aggrieved at the action of a court-martial reflecting upon his evidence as a witness, has recourse to his friend Stevens, who responds in such manner as to call forth Smith's grateful and somewhat enthusiastic thanks: —

"I refer in part to your reply to Colonel Totten at table. Be assured I *did* anticipate your reply to my request. But, Stevens, there are not many who would have taken the part of a friend as you did with Colonel Totten. I shall never forget it as an act of friendship, never cease to admire it as an act of generous independence."

Oliver visits him in September, and in his next letter speaks of "our fine rides on horseback." Elizabeth has decided to go to Nashville, Tenn., to visit her uncle Moses, principal of an academy there, in hopes of finding employment as a teacher; and the father calls upon his son in Newport for pecuniary assistance, and informs him that Hannah has come home seriously ill.

The next letter from his father contained the sad intelligence that Hannah was sinking fast, and urged him to come home immediately. He spent the last few days of life with the dying girl, doing all in his power to comfort her. She died in November, 1840.

On his journey back to Newport, Mr. Stevens stopped in Boston to hear a lecture by John Quincy Adams, an account of which he gives his father: —

> "His subject was the four stages of man in his progress from the savage to the civilized state, — first, as a hunter; second, as a shepherd; third, as a tiller of the soil; fourth, as a member of a community in which all trades, occupations, arts, and professions were confined to their appropriate spheres, each receiving the protection and encouragement of all. His delivery was very energetic, though uncouth. His fancy was exuberant, and his speculations were not entirely, it seemed to me, supported by the truth of history.
>
> "I wrote to Susan, as you desired, and gave her a detailed account of Hannah's illness, with such other matters as I thought would be interesting. Since I have been back to Newport, I have been reading Blackstone pretty diligently. Thus far, I am much pleased with him."

"It was a sad Thanksgiving at the homestead this year," Oliver writes, "so different from the year before, when all were at home except Susan, and death had not yet broken the family circle." Now all the children, except Sarah and Oliver, were scattered far and wide, — Susan at Union, Mo., Elizabeth at Nashville, Tenn., Mary in Belfast, Maine, and Isaac in Newport. The father was again disabled with his leg, and unable to attend the Thanksgiving sermon. Oliver concludes his pathetic letter with a wish to go to West Point.

NEWPORT, December 15, 1840.

DEAR BROTHER OLIVER, — I have been very busily engaged since your letter came to hand in preparing an address to be delivered before the Newport Lyceum. As it was the introductory one, I felt very desirous that it should be no discredit to myself, and that all proper expectations should be fully realized. This is my apology for not immediately answering your letter. As the address has been delivered, I will now write you briefly respecting the subject-matter of the latter part of your communication. . . .

There is nothing new here. I am passing my time very pleasantly. We have a debating club in successful operation, consisting of about sixty members, — clergymen, lawyers, physicians, tradesmen, etc., etc. We have a talk this evening on the French Revolution. I don't know whether I shall say anything or not. Write as soon as you can find it convenient. Remember me to father, mother, and Sarah, and friends in general. I hope father will take every care of his health. Is it vacation with John Loring now? One of his classmates, young Dunn, is at home in Newport.

Your brother,
ISAAC I. STEVENS.

MR. O. STEVENS.

NEWPORT, R. I., January 17, 1840.

MY DEAR FATHER, — As soon as I get to Washington I shall put Oliver's application on file in the Department of War, and will obtain an interview with Mr. Cushing to secure his interposition, of which I think we may entertain some expectation, as no one has yet applied for the vacancy in his district. One of my classmates, Lieutenant Halleck, who is on duty at Washington, was kind enough to ascertain and inform me of all cadets and applicants from Massachusetts, with their districts, and in his list I perceive the 3d District is put down vacant without any applications. I have never seen our representative, for which reason some might deem it advisable to procure a letter of introduction; but after some consideration I have concluded to take none, but to introduce myself. It is better, if successful, than the other mode; to be sure, the risk is greater, — I will run it, however. If I make a good impression

ISAAC INGALLS STEVENS

From Miniature by Staigg, 1841

on Mr. Cushing under the circumstances of a vacancy and no application, it may go far towards getting his assistance. I will try it at all events.

I shall leave on Wednesday and be absent three weeks. The Armisted case comes up before the Supreme Court next Friday, and will probably be in progress the ensuing week; this will enable me to hear Mr. John Quincy Adams, of which I am very desirous. Mr. Clay's resolution respecting the repeal of the Sub-Treasury will soon be called up, and will probably cause that whole subject again to be discussed. Should it call out the able men of the Senate while I am in Washington, I could not desire a better opportunity to compare them. I will write you on my arrival, and afterwards from time to time. You must take good care of your health, and take things easily. I know of no one that has a better right. We have nothing new in Newport. My health is perfect both in body and mind; in other words, I have never had better health in either respect. Give my love to all friends and the family.

Your son,
Isaac I. Stevens.

Writes Halleck, January 15, 1841: —

I hope to soon meet you here, and enter into a friendly interchange of thoughts and feelings without the formality of paper and ink. I am anxious to give you a hearty shake by the hand and welcome you to Washington. If you are left to your leisure hours, you will undoubtedly have much enjoyment both in society and in Congress. You must not anticipate too much pleasure in the crowded parties of the metropolis. To me they are perfect bores.

Let me know when you are to come on, and if not immediately I will write you a long letter. Read this if you can.

Yours in the true bonds of friendship,
H. Wager Halleck.

Although unable to procure the cadet appointment for Oliver, he greatly enjoyed his first visit to the capital, especially the debates in the Senate, where he listened to both Clay and Webster. The former impressed him as more a leader of men and controller of measures than the latter.

One would think that with his official duties, and all the studies and pursuits he was carrying on, every minute of his time must have been taken up; yet he organized a course of lectures for the winter, and himself delivered an address on Oliver Cromwell, whose character and achievements he greatly admired. In this lecture he presented with great force and clearness a new and original conception of the great Puritan, depicting him as a true patriot and a religious, God-fearing man, obliged by the circumstances of the times to seize the helm of state in order to save his country from despotism or anarchy. This was much the view afterwards so ably set forth by Carlyle. This lecture excited no little attention at the time; and when Carlyle's Cromwell appeared, not long afterwards, it was said that the lecture would seem to have been taken from that work, had it not been delivered before that was published. He afterwards delivered this lecture in Andover and other places.

In the spring of 1841 he was placed in charge of Fairhaven Battery in New Bedford, Mass., in addition to his duties in Newport. This required frequent trips to the former place, which he usually made by stage, but several times he traversed the intervening country on foot. On one of these trips, in an economical mood he refrained from dinner in order to save the cost of the meal. Soon afterwards a lean and friendless dog attached himself to him, and followed his footsteps so persistently, and looked so piteous and hungry, that the young man's sensibilities were touched, and he stopped at a farmhouse and purchased a good dinner for the half-starved animal, which, as he laughingly declared, cost all he had saved by his self-denial.

A letter from Mr. Bishop conveyed the afflicting and

MARGARET LYMAN STEVENS

From Miniature by Staigg, 1841

unlooked-for intelligence of the death of Susan, April 8, 1841, from pulmonary disease, after a brief illness. Thus unexpectedly passed away another loved sister, and one whose sunny, affectionate disposition, fine mind, and high principles had especially endeared her.

Benjamin Hazard died March 10, 1841. During his lingering illness he derived much comfort and pleasure from the society and attentions of the talented and sympathetic young man. He gladly sanctioned his betrothal with his daughter Margaret, and willingly intrusted the future of his beloved child to one whom he both loved and respected, and in whose character and ability he had the fullest confidence.

The marriage was solemnized by Mr. Brooks, September 8, 1841, in the great parlor of the old mansion, the same apartment which witnessed the wedding of "Charming Polly" and her Revolutionary hero, and of their daughter Harriet and Benjamin Hazard, the parents of the present bride.

It was a quiet and simple ceremony, so soon after the death of Mr. Hazard, but the ample room was well filled with beautiful young girls, the sisters and cousins of the bride, officers in full uniform, the companions of the groom, and old friends of the family. Hither came from Andover the groom's brother Oliver, and cousin Henry H. Stevens, his West Point friend, Lieutenant Jeremy F. Gilmer, from Washington, Lieutenants James L. Mason, Henry J. Hunt, and Lewis G. Arnold, from Newport, and a goodly number of Lymans and Dunnells from Providence, uncles, aunts, and cousins of the bride.

CHAPTER VI

CHARGE OF WORKS: NEW BEDFORD, PORTSMOUTH, PORTLAND, BUCKSPORT

THE wedding journey was to New York by Long Island Sound, and thence up the Hudson to West Point, where they spent several days, and were received with flattering attentions by his old friends. With great pride and pleasure Mr. Stevens presented them to his lovely bride, and revisited with her the romantic scenes of the Point, endeared by so many pleasant associations. They returned by way of Springfield and Boston.

NEW BEDFORD, September 24, 1841.

MY DEAR FATHER, — I was very glad to see Oliver and my cousin Henry at Newport on the occasion of my marriage, and, though your presence would have afforded me much pleasure, yet, as I well knew that it was a busy season with you, and that something very unusual only could induce you to leave home, I was not much disappointed at your not coming. You will certainly see us as early as next Thanksgiving. We had a most pleasant trip, were favored with unusually fine weather, and were disappointed in no one of our anticipations. Margaret had never visited West Point before, and had always lived in a country the scenery of which is very tame compared with the alpine grandeur of the Highlands. I had said a great deal to her about West Point, and I feared that her expectations were raised high above the reality. I was, however, agreeably surprised by her assertion that her ideas had scarcely approached the truth. The day after our arrival at West Point she insisted upon climbing to the Crow's Nest, which you recollect is two miles from West Point, and commands the plain about twelve or fourteen hundred feet. Finding that my dissuasion had little effect, I took her up one of the roughest ways, — in many places we had to ascend almost perpendicular rocks. In one hour and a half we were on the very topmost height of the mountain. We came back by a rough, winding, long road, and got to the hotel four hours after leaving it. I call that a pretty good feat for a lady. From Hudson to Springfield the road was completed except about two miles near Chester Factories. It passes through a most wild and picturesque country, follows the valley of one of the rivers that empties into the Connecticut for some thirty miles, crossing it frequently and constantly changing direction, and is constructed in a truly magnificent style.

We got back to Newport just seven days after leaving it. There I found orders had been awaiting me two days to repair to New Bedford, to take charge of all the repairs of the old fort. You can judge of the urgency of the orders from my going to New Bedford the next day, and leaving Margaret at Newport, where she has been ever since. We arrived at Newport about four o'clock on Thursday. I left the next day at two o'clock, made an inspection of the fort on Saturday forenoon, issued a hand-bill the same day for mechanics and laborers, and on Monday morning had a gang of about twenty men at work. I never was in New Bedford before, and knew not a single man in the place. Monday morning I fell in with a real full-blooded Yankee, whom I engaged as overseer, and immediately sent around the country for stone-cutters and masons. I went on Monday into a ledge of granite rock, and have already thrown out about two hundred tons of stone, and got about a hundred feet cut. The people in New Bedford are disposed to criticise my plans, but they will find out I know what I am about, and that they had better save their sneers for some other object. After I had been at work three days, I dismissed three men for idleness, which had a very good effect. My plan is to be rather familiar with every man, but at the same time to make every one feel that he must do his duty. To-morrow I am going to Newport after Margaret. I have been so busy that I have had no time to miss her. In fact, this is the very first moment since I have been in New Bedford that I have been able to write home. Now my business has got into a regular course, and will require but little time to attend to it. Whether I shall spend the winter in Newport, or New Bedford, I don't know. I have at present only orders to get in readiness platforms for nine guns.

Your son,
Isaac I. Stevens.

Mr. Isaac Stevens.

The young couple boarded in Fairhaven, a suburb of New Bedford, for several months, and then removed to the town. They entered with lively interest into the society of the place, at that time the abode of many wealthy and somewhat aristocratic families. Mr. Stevens had already made the favorable acquaintance of the first people before bringing his wife there; her family and personal attractions were known, and they were cordially received. Mrs. Hazard made them a short visit during the winter.

Halleck asks his assistance in starting an engineering journal for the corps.

I know too well your zeal for the profession to doubt for a moment that the measure will receive your countenance, and the support of your able pen. If we succeed in the undertaking, I am quite sure that it will be of much advantage to us individually, and will contribute greatly to the reputation of the corps.

If the delights of married life have not entirely driven away the recollection of old bachelor friends, I hope you will again favor me with one of your old-fashioned letters. I have heard too much of the attractions of your bride to scold you for so long neglecting me. From all accounts, my dear Stevens, I must pronounce you a most fortunate and happy man, and I shall embrace the first opportunity to make the acquaintance of your lady, and most heartily welcome her into our corps.

Yours most truly,
H. Wager Halleck.

The young couple spent Thanksgiving in Andover. The stern but true-hearted father, deeply mourning the untimely loss of his two elder daughters, was gladdened by the presence of five children, — Sarah, Isaac, Oliver, Mary, and the new daughter, Margaret. The latter was greatly admired, and was received with warm affection and kindness by them, and by uncles William and Nathaniel and their families. She was highly interested and pleased with the Thanksgiving festivities, a new experience to her; for the Quakers and Come-outers of Rhode Island, many of whom left Massachusetts to escape the tyranny of the "Lord Brethren," never made much of that holiday, but kept Christmas instead.

After a delightful visit of a week, they returned to New Bedford and the pleasures of domestic life, and for the young husband what he always enjoyed, — hard work. This seriously encroached upon his proposed course of study and reading, yet with Mason he would run up to Providence to hear Ralph Waldo Emerson's lectures.

On June 9, 1842, their first child, a boy, was born in the old Newport mansion, and named Hazard, after his maternal grandfather.

NEWPORT, June 9, 1842.

MY DEAR FATHER, — I came here last Friday with the intention of returning to New Bedford on Monday, but I was seized with a very violent bilious attack that kept me in the house for a day or two. The physician that was called prescribed calomel, and I was fool enough to take it, the consequence of which is that instead of being perfectly well to-day, as I should otherwise have been, I have a pain in my bones, and not half the elasticity that generally attends my recovery. However, calomel or no calomel, I don't regret my illness, for it has been the cause of my being in Newport at a most interesting moment. Early this morning Margaret was safely delivered of a fine, healthy boy, after an uncommonly short and easy labor. She was fortunate in the attendance of a most judicious, skillful, and experienced physician, a younger brother of her father, who has been in an extensive practice for more than forty years. Now, father, you may fairly say that you have a right to your gray hairs. Gray hairs and grandfathers always go together. The little fellow has been squalling most unmercifully this morning, and seems to take it for granted that no one's convenience is to be consulted but his own. If he will but show the same energy in the development of his other faculties, we may expect great things of him.

Your son,

ISAAC I. STEVENS.

During the greater part of this year Oliver pursues his studies at Phillips Academy in South Andover; Sarah is teaching an unruly school in Saugus, Mass., where she punishes a refractory boy, maintains order, and overcomes the unreasonable anger of the boy's parents in a way that proves her gifted with much firmness, decision, and good sense. Only Mary remains at home. She writes: "We had a fugitive slave to spend the night with us. He was as black a person as I ever saw." So it appears that the old Abolitionist is doing his part towards the "underground railroad," as harboring and forwarding fugitive slaves was termed.

Elizabeth, in Tennessee, became engaged in the spring to Mr. L. M. Campbell, a promising young lawyer, and they were married September 9.

After the birth of the child, Mr. Stevens and his wife went to keeping house in New Bedford. Sarah visited them in the winter, and on her return home in March, 1843, they accompanied her as far as Boston, where they remained a week while Mr. Stevens attended to some engineering duties on one of the islands in the harbor. In April he was again in Boston, while his young wife was visiting her mother in Newport for election day in May, when the state government was to be inaugurated.

Lieutenant Stevens received orders to assume charge of the fortifications at Portsmouth, N. H., to which those at Portland, Maine, were added soon afterwards. These consisted of Forts Constitution and Scammell at the former, and Forts Preble and McClary at the latter place. Breaking up housekeeping at New Bedford in 1843, and leaving his wife and boy in Newport, and the little stock of furniture and belongings stored in the old mansion temporarily, Lieutenant Stevens proceeded to Portsmouth and took charge of the works. Having in his ever prompt and energetic manner set everything under way, he returned to Newport, and brought his little family to the new station. They boarded for a short time, then he leased a spacious house, using a portion of it as an office. They speedily found themselves among warm friends and pleasant surroundings. Lieutenant Tom Breese, of the navy, a generous, whole-souled gentleman, who had married Lucy Randolph, a cousin of Mrs. Stevens, was stationed at the navy yard, and made them more than welcome. Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, of the engineers, a fellow student at West Point, was conducting a survey of the harbor. He became a major-general, commanded the third division, third corps, Army of the Potomac, and was mortally wounded at the battle of Chancellorsville. There were also Colonel Crane, Captain Stanberry, and Lieutenants William H. Fowler and Joseph Hooker, of the army, and Major Harris, of the marines. Hooker afterwards rose to be major-general, and commanded the Army of the Potomac at Chancellorsville. Portsmouth, like Newport, had its old families and cultivated and agreeable society, which cordially received the young engineer officer and his wife. Among the first to call upon Mrs. Stevens were Mrs. John L. Hayes and Mrs. Samuel Elliott Coues, two beautiful young women, the daughters of Mr. Alexander Ladd, and a warm friendship grew up between the families, which continued after all three moved to Washington in after years.

In Portland, only a few miles distant, resided Rev. Asa Cummings, Mr. Stevens's maternal uncle, the editor of the "Christian Mirror," and his house was always open to the young couple like a second home. During the winter Mrs. Stevens's sister Mary visited them. There was much social visiting and many entertainments; they attended the marriage of Lieutenant Whipple and Miss Sherburne. They were on board the frigate Portsmouth when she was launched at the navy yard.

Mr. Stevens found his hands full, with the two sets of works intrusted to him, and was obliged to spend no little time in traveling between them. At Fort Preble he planned and built the barracks, conceded to be among the best arranged in the country. Having to cross the harbor frequently in his visits to the fort, he had built at Newport one of the catboats for which that town was famous, and had it brought to Portland. He also brought on from New Bedford a faithful retainer, named Daniel Murphy, and put him in charge of the boat.

In addition to these onerous and responsible duties, he was placed in sole charge of the fortification of the narrows of the Penobscot River, where it was decided to build a regular, bastioned, casemated work for forty guns on the right bank of the river, opposite Bucksport, to be named Fort Knox. Mr. Stevens visited Bucksport in July, 1843, on this new duty. The first thing to be done was to purchase the site for the fort, and for this purpose he sought the owners of the land and made arrangements with them. One of these, an old farmer, not deeming it possible that the government could be represented in so important a matter by so young, boyish-looking, and unassuming a man, refused to talk with him, and soon afterwards, meeting an acquaintance, complained to him about that young fellow, a mere boy, talking to him as to buying his farm for the government, etc. To his astonishment, his friend assured him that he had made a great mistake, that the young man was Lieutenant Stevens, of the engineer corps, who had entire charge of building the fort, and advised him to lose no time in seeking the young officer and explaining his mistake, which he made haste to do. This incident shows how youthful Mr. Stevens appeared at that time, although twenty-five years old, a husband and a father. He was always quiet and unobtrusive in manner, without a trace of self-assertion or pretentiousness; and the marked impression he made upon all with whom he came in contact was due to real superiority of mind and spirit, and not to any adventitious advantages of stature or manner.

He also, in July, visited Castine, and inspected and reported upon the old works there, which had been fortified and held by the British during the war of 1812.

His sisters were again widely scattered from their father's house. During the summer Sarah was staying with uncle Asa Cummings, and, being attacked by a severe cough, Mary came there to wait upon her, and also to attend school. Their brother Isaac constantly visited them, and supplied them with books and comforts. He also freely aided Oliver with funds. He was at North Yarmouth fitting for college, and helping himself by teaching school.

With all these calls upon him, Mr. Stevens was obliged to ask his father to repay —

"as much, not exceeding one hundred dollars, as you can conveniently raise. My expenses in the way of traveling have been very heavy this year. Three journeys to Bangor already, and two more in contemplation, besides quite a number between Portland and Portsmouth. With this I send you the 'National Anti-Slavery Standard,' the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society. I have just commenced taking the paper. I like its spirit and views much."

In this letter he speaks of spending four days in Portland, and finding Sarah improved and Mary well; gives a long account of the condition and medical treatment of the former, and suggests means for her recovery and plans for Mary's education. These sisters were very dear to him, and he was very solicitous for their welfare. But Sarah rapidly grew worse with quick consumption, and died February 8, 1844, only twenty-two years old. After her death, Mary returned home.

One day at Portsmouth, as Mr. Stevens was at work in his office and his young wife was at the window, her attention was attracted by a unique vehicle coming down the street, followed by a tail of small boys in high glee. This was a rude sleigh fashioned out of poles, and drawn by a rough-looking nag, whose coat was innocent of currycomb and brush. Seated on a box in the bottom of the sleigh, and driving the horse with entire unconcern at the attention he was attracting, was a large, tall man, with light hair and fair, florid complexion, clad in homespun garb, the very type of an independent backwoods farmer. Stopping at the door, he inquired for *Leftenant* Stevens, who ran down, and was surprised and pleased to find in the rustic caller one of his mother's brothers, John Cummings, from Albany, on his way to Andover. How uncle John received a warm welcome, how he was brought in and given a hearty supper, while his team was sent around to the nearest stable, and how he was loaded with viands and supplies enough to last the remainder of his journey when he resumed it, may be imagined. Such an opportunity to dispense hospitality to one of his relatives was a source of unalloyed pleasure to the young officer.

The laying out and starting the fort at Bucksport engrossed most of his attention in the spring of 1844. The care of important works at three different places necessitated incessant traveling, besides which he had to visit Boston periodically to obtain and bring down the public funds required. With all these duties and cares he was more than fully occupied, and was obliged to lay aside, for the present at least, his projected law studies. He also sent abroad and purchased a number of French works on fortifications and military history. He became deeply interested in the forts under his charge, and was indefatigable in urging upon the Engineer Bureau in Washington improvements and measures which his active mind was quick to observe. Indeed, in his zeal he overworked himself, and was prostrated with severe sickness in consequence. "You work too hard," writes his sister Mary; "you will not live five years unless you take business easier." During the summer he was able to give Oliver employment on Fort Preble, and writes his father that "Oliver has acquitted himself with credit; had to manage a gang of twenty-five men."

Mrs. Stevens spent part of the summer at her mother's house in Newport, where, on June 27, their second child was born, a daughter, named Julia Virginia. Early in August Mr. Stevens went to Newport to escort his little family to Bucksport. They spent several days in Andover, accompanied by Mrs. Stevens's sister Nancy, where they met Elizabeth and her husband, just arrived from Tennessee on a visit. Mary was at home, and there was a pleasant family reunion. After this agreeable little visit they went to Boston and took the steamboat for Bucksport, Miss Nancy Hazard returning to Newport.

In the fall Elizabeth and Mr. Campbell returned to Tennessee, after a round of visits to her relatives in Massachusetts and Maine. Mary accompanied them.

Arriving at Bucksport the last of August, they found quarters at an old-fashioned country tavern, the only hotel in the place, where they had comfortable though rustic accommodations. The principal people, with the cordial hospitality characteristic of Maine, welcomed them to the town.

At first many, like the old farmer, were disposed to sneer at the young stripling, but the energetic, thorough-going, and effective way in which he organized and drove on the works, his decided, self-reliant character, sound, sensible conversation, and simple, direct manners, soon won their approval and admiration, and he became a great favorite, and much respected and looked up to as well as liked. After a short sojourn at the tavern, he leased a large, roomy house of Judge Pond, half of which he set apart as an office, and made his residence in the other half. Kidder Randolph, a cousin of Mrs. Stevens, was employed as chief clerk, and with his wife, *née* Isabella Updike, came on from Newport. He also employed in the office Mr. Isaac Osgood, a fellow-townsman from Andover, and on the works, as assistant, Mr. Abiel W. Tinkham.

The Penobscot at this point is some half a mile wide, with a strong tidal current. For crossing the river he provided a four-oared barge, over which Daniel Murphy was installed as coxswain. Every morning the young engineer officer would cross the river to supervise the works, and return to the town late in the afternoon or in the evening. A large force was set to work. Soon deep excavations, great banks of earth, and vast piles of granite and other materials attested the vigor with which the construction was pushed. He visited many quarries far and near, and examined and tested the granite. As this material was landed in great, heavy blocks and masses on the river-bank, and had to be hauled thence to the works up a considerable ascent, he bought many oxen for the purpose, scouring the country for the largest and finest to be had. In these teams he took great pride, and especially enjoyed taking friends and visitors to see them. He was also quite proud of his ability to select good workmen from their appearance. A well-shaped head, with a full, high forehead, he used to say, denoted a good man, reliable, intelligent, and industrious.

The lonely old man in Andover writes a pathetic letter to Isaac in December, urging him to make him a visit. Of his seven children, not one was at home at Thanksgiving. Three daughters had died; the remaining two were far distant in Tennessee; Isaac was in Bucksport, and Oliver in North Yarmouth. With deep feeling the aged and lonely father writes: "My children, — you may well suppose I thought of them."

Mr. Stevens again had a severe sickness in the winter, the result probably of overwork, although he used to say that the cold winter climate of Maine did not agree with him, that it rendered his faculties torpid or benumbed. In February, however, he visited Washington, and was present at Polk's inauguration as President. He embraced this opportunity to urge upon Colonel Totten, chief of engineers, the need of increased appropriations for the works under his charge, and with such success that the other engineer officers complained that Stevens had left no funds for their works.

During 1845 Mr. Stevens was vigorously pushing the building of Fort Knox, as well as attending to the works at Portland and Portsmouth. In May he received a confidential letter from Colonel Totten, asking if he desired transfer to and promotion in one of the new regiments about to be raised, which, with his characteristic reply, is given: —

[CONFIDENTIAL.]

ENGINEER DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, 28th May, 1845.

LIEUTENANT ISAAC I. STEVENS,
Corps of Engineers, Bucksport, Maine:

Sir, — In case of an increase of the military establishment at the next session of Congress, I shall probably be called upon to know if any officers of engineers desire a transfer to the new forces, with promotion.

Would you desire such a transfer? What is the lowest grade that you would be willing to accept? And in what arm of the service?

Very respectfully, your obt. svt.,
JOSEPH G. TOTTEN, *Col. and Ch. Eng.*

I have already been spoken to on this subject by one high in authority.

BUCKSPORT, MAINE, June 24, 1845.

COLONEL JOSEPH G. TOTTEN,
Chief Engineer, Washington:

Sir, — In answer to the confidential circular of the Department of the 28th ultimo, asking if I should desire a transfer with promotion to the new forces, in case of an increase of the military establishment at the next session of Congress, I beg to say generally and comprehensively that I hold myself in readiness to discharge to the best of my ability the duties of any position which shall enlarge my sphere of action and of usefulness, and with which, in the judgment of those intrusted with the administration of public affairs, I may be deemed worthy to be invested; promotion or no promotion, in my own corps or in any other corps or department of the public service, and whether the field of duty be in Oregon, California, or at the North Pole.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
ISAAC I. STEVENS, *Lieut. of Eng'rs.*

This reply evinces a certain impatience, or disapproval, at the idea of consulting the personal wishes and preferences of an officer as to his assignment to duty. Mr. Stevens always held high ideals of public duty, — many would deem them quixotic and overstrained. He ever deemed it the duty of appointing officers to select the ablest and best-fitted man for any post or service that could be found, and that it was the duty of every public officer to serve with complete self-abnegation and patriotic zeal. His whole career proved the sincerity of his convictions on this point.

In consequence of the hostile attitude assumed by Mexico upon the admission of Texas into the Union against her protests, Colonel Totten, on June 8, writes the following confidential order: —

> "In all the forts under your charge (including the narrows of the Penobscot) you should, as soon as it can be done advantageously, place all your batteries in a state of perfect readiness for guns, leaving nothing to be done but the mounting of the guns when they shall arrive. It is of infinite importance, should any exigency arise, that the preparation of the country shall not be found deficient in any manner depending on the Engineer Department."

General Taylor with a small force was thrown into Texas to protect the newly acquired State, and the increasing probabilities of war with Mexico were eagerly discussed by the ambitious young army officers. In September Mr. Stevens accompanied Colonel Totten on a tour of inspection of all the works under his charge, and entertained him and Mrs. Totten for several days at his house in Bucksport.

Mr. Stevens was never so well pleased as when dispensing hospitality in his own house. He was continually bringing friends home to dinner, often on short notice, and always liked to have some of his relatives visiting him. His wife's sister Nancy spent the summer with them. Brother Oliver, uncle William's daughter Eliza and son William, Mrs. Hazard and her son Thomas, and sister, Miss Eliza B. Lyman, and uncle Nathaniel, also visited them, and, after much urging, his father, from Andover, was induced to make a brief visit. He employed Oliver again this summer on Fort Preble. Always ready and glad to serve any relative or friend, he saw to the purchasing and shipping of several cargoes of hay for uncle Nathaniel, declining to accept any recompense for his services.

On December 7 the little girl, Julia Virginia, died of water on the brain, after a brief illness. She was a beautiful, gentle child, and a great pet of her father, who delighted to place her on his office table when he was at work, oftentimes to the sad disarrangement of his plans and drawings, and her death was a severe affliction. The following beautiful lines were written by Mr. Brooks, in condolence upon the sad loss: —

"Well with the child?" Ah, yes, 't is well
With that bright creature evermore,
Gone up, 'mid seraph bands to dwell
With God on yonder starry shore.

"Well with the child?" Ah, yes, 't is well,
Though marble-cold that lily brow,
And though no sage nor seer can tell
Where soars the mind that beamed there now.

"Well with the child?" Ah, yes, 't is well,
Though still in death that speaking eye;
A shadow o'er the spirit fell —
'T is past — a star is in the sky!

"Well with the child?" Ah, yes, 't is well
With her, that sweet and guileless one;
Toll not for her the gloomy knell,
Though gilds her grave the morning sun.

"Well with the child?" Ah, yes, 't is well,
And well with us who mourn, if we,
By penitence made pure, might dwell,
Sweet child of God! with Him and thee.

During the winter Mr. Stevens organized a course of lectures for the Bucksport Lyceum, delivering one lecture himself, and writing to lecturers in different parts of the country, engaging their services, and inviting them to his house. Among the lecturers and subjects were: John A. Peters, on "The Profession of Politics;" William B. Merton, on "American Literature;" J. A. Smith, on "The Present State of English Poetry;" Henry Giles, George Shepard, and others, whose subjects are not known. He also became interested in organizing a Unitarian Church in Bucksport, and corresponded with Dr. A. P. Peabody in regard to a pastor, etc., but it was found impracticable to do this.

Mr. Stevens was never a sportsman or fisherman; indeed, he kept himself so immersed in work as never to have time for field sports, yet he was especially fond of the noble salmon which were taken in the Penobscot, and delighted to send fine, handsome specimens of this noble fish to his father, Mrs. Hazard, and other friends. He had a fish-weir built below the fort, in which many fish were taken at times.

Convinced of the desirability of organizing a body of engineer troops as part of the army, for several years Mr. Stevens kept writing urgent memorials and letters to the Engineer or War Department in advocacy of the plan. In those days the rank and file were nearly all foreigners, and far inferior in character to the regular soldiers of the present day. For the engineer troops he advocated enlisting American young men of intelligence, good character and physique, putting them under a thorough course of instruction, with strict discipline, in order "to raise them to the highest state of discipline and efficiency, a fair representation of what an American army might and should be, so that every man in the company can, if he chooses to study and do his duty, become a good clerk, overseer, or practical engineer." Moreover, in case of war, or an increase of the army, some of the best qualified and most deserving men might be given commissions. He was deeply impressed with and admired Cromwell's policy of raising his "ironsides" among men of good family and substance, discarding "serving-men and tapsters," and was full of the idea of making the American army as honorable for the common soldier as for the officer. The soundness of these views is now becoming recognized, and within the last few years steps have been taken to raise the standard of regular soldiers by enlisting only the better class of men, and giving them more instruction, advantages, and opportunities, even to appointing officers from the ranks.

At length the War Department decided to allow the raising of an engineer company, and Lieutenant Stevens issued circulars calling for men, and personally enlisted the first soldier in the new corps, private Lathrop. The company formed part of Scott's army in Mexico, where it rendered distinguished service under Captain G. W. Smith and Lieutenant George B. McClellan, the former of whom became a Confederate major-general, and the latter was the well-known commander of the Army of the Potomac.

In July, 1846, Mr. Stevens was in Boston loading a vessel with material for Fort Knox. During this summer Mrs. Stevens's eldest sister, Miss Emily L. Hazard, with her little nephew, Charlie Brooks, made them a visit, and two other sisters, Mary and Nancy, spent the summer and fall with them.

The Mexican war was now in full progress with Taylor's campaign on the Rio Grande, and Lieutenant Stevens, ambitious for active service, but unwilling to urge his personal wishes, writes the chief of engineers that sedentary employment is prejudicial to his health,— needs exercise in the open air, — would respond with alacrity to any call made upon him for service in Mexico, adding that he makes no personal application, but simply states facts, etc. At last, on December 25, he received his orders, and in two hours was speeding by sleigh over snow-drifted roads to Bangor, reaching Portland the next day, and Boston the 28th. Miss Nancy Hazard went, under his escort, as far as Boston, returning home. Miss Mary remained in Bucksport to spend the winter with her sister, who needed her society and care, for on November 20, the second daughter, Sue, was born.

CHAPTER VII

VOYAGE TO MEXICO

BOSTON, MASS., December 29, 1846.

MY DEAREST WIFE, — We reached Boston yesterday at half past twelve, after a very pleasant journey from Bangor. The weather was unusually mild, and we experienced very little fatigue. Nancy took the afternoon cars for Providence. This afternoon the steamer Perry runs to Newport and will take her home.

I shall not sail probably till Saturday.

I have determined to take out a complete equipment, even to a servant. I am causing inquiries to be made this morning, and in case I find no one to my mind, I shall send for Daniel Murphy. Daniel would be so devoted to me. If I were sick he would take care of me. Daniel, too, would feel with me perfectly secure from all harm. The quartermaster will furnish me here with a camp equipage. I shall provide myself with a saddle, india-rubber leggings, and everything complete, so that not for a single instant shall I be delayed on reaching my destination. Immediately on my landing I wish to be ready for service. I may take out a horse. I wish some of my good friends would present me one. I should want a horse worth three hundred dollars.

I have sent for Oliver to spend the day with me to-morrow. I thought it best not to send for father. It will be hard for him to part with me, and he had better stay at home.

Since leaving you my mind has dwelt much upon my little family. I know you will look on the bright side. In all candor, I consider my life as safe in Mexico as in Maine. I hope to get a sound constitution, and to come back to you, my dear Margaret, in due season, sound in body and none the worse for wear. You have a treasure in your own mother and brothers and sisters. Mary is with you. I feel grateful to her for giving up so promptly her own wishes to stay with you. I hope you will have a pleasant winter. Keep up your spirits, and have faith in the future and in the God of the future. I go to Mexico without a single foreboding. I have faith, almost implicit faith, that I shall come back. Have faith with me.

So long as I remain in Boston you shall hear from me every day. Love to Mary and the chicks.

Affectionately yours,
ISAAC.

BOSTON, MASS., December 30, 1846.

MY DEAR MARGARET, — Oliver has come down to pass the day with me. We are hard at work preparing inventories and getting everything ready. We have a fine vessel, and I look forward to a pleasant passage.

Oliver brought me the sad intelligence of the death of Elizabeth on the 10th of December. Campbell wrote further a most feeling and excellent letter. Elizabeth suffered but little, and everything was done for her that could be suggested by the forethought of the most devoted of husbands.

Her child was very well. Mary, we expect, will return in the spring. I shall try and send you a little note every day. Write me at Brazos Santiago, and write often, commencing now. Write once a week, adding something to your letters each day.

Remember me to all.

Affectionately,
ISAAC.

Lieutenant Stevens's orders were to take charge of the ponton and engineer trains, then being loaded on shipboard in Boston, and accompany the same to the headquarters of General Scott in Mexico, touching first at Brazos Santiago, Texas.

Notwithstanding the urgency of his orders, various delays occurred, and it was not until the 19th of January that the vessel sailed. During this period of waiting he had a visit from his father, and one from Oliver, also. His cousins Charles and Henry also came down from

Andover to bid him good-by. He spent a day in New Bedford, calling upon his friends there. Daniel Murphy, having fallen sick, had to be sent home.

Boston, Mass., January 13, 1847.

My dearest Wife, — I wrote you a brief note yesterday, stating that I should not probably sail for some days. Having nothing to do here, yet obliged to remain to be in readiness to obey any new orders, I shall endeavor to spend my time in some rational manner. There are military matters to be looked into and old friends to visit.

I hope I shall hear from you, before I leave Boston, and very much in full. I wish once more to look into the little details of your daily life, before I commit myself to the broad bosom of the great waters.

January 14. Yesterday I passed a portion of the day in Cambridge; found Mrs. Breese and family all well. The children had grown much since I last saw them. Mrs. Breese seemed very resigned, but she has evidently been a great mourner. She was the same hospitable, noble-hearted woman as of old. She expects to get to Newport about May; will go to housekeeping in their old house.

I saw the forty-eight Viennese dancers last evening. It was splendid. They are young girls from four years to sixteen, all handsome and perfectly trained. Everybody goes to see them. Last evening there was a great turn-out of the beauty and fashion of Boston.

You shall hear from me again before I leave. There is no probability of my sailing before Saturday. Love to Hazard and the babe. Remembrances, and

Yours affectionately,
Isaac.

Boston, Mass., January 15, 1847.

My dearest Wife, — There is now every prospect of my getting off to-morrow. I may not reach the Brazos till the middle of February. Colonel Totten left on the 12th for Mexico, and I shall without doubt serve under his immediate direction. Eighteen officers of engineers are either in Mexico, or on their way thither.

I trust I shall get a few lines from you to-morrow before I sail, as otherwise a month must pass before any tidings reach me. Do not fail to write quite often to me at the Brazos. I shall not object, you know, to find a dozen letters, more or less.

To-day I dined at Mr. Eben Dale's, a nephew of aunt Cummings. Cousin Charles Stevens dined there also. He designs going this evening to see the Viennese dancers. I wish you could see them. Everybody is charmed. Whole families go, children and all, and to-morrow there is to be an afternoon exhibition for the particular benefit of the children.

I will write you again before I sail.

Affectionately yours,
Isaac Stevens.

Boston, Mass., January 19, 1847.

My dearest Wife, — It is now ten o'clock in the morning, and I shall in an hour take my departure for Mexico.

We have a fine vessel — good officers and crew — and it is a charming day.

I hoped to have heard from you before I left, but no letter has reached me.

God bless you and the little ones.

Yours affectionately,
Isaac.

My dearest Wife, — It is now January 27, and the eighth day of our being at sea. I wrote you a brief note on the day I sailed, Tuesday, January 19. We left the wharf at three P. M., with a strong westerly wind, which drove our bark through the water at the rate of eight knots per hour. The weather was very cold, but with my cloak around me, I remained on deck several hours. Soon Boston and its suburbs vanished in the distance, and we were fairly embarked on our journey's way. As I think it will interest you, I will jot down the occurrences of each day since our departure. And first of all, my ocean home is in a beautifully modeled and fast-sailing bark of about two hundred tons, called the Prompt. There are twelve souls on board: Captain Wellman, first officer Gallicer, second officer Stebbins, six men before the mast, one man acting as cook and steward, my servant, a nice Irish lad, Owen Clarke, nineteen years of age, and your humble servant. The officers of the bark are a fine set of fellows, and the crew perfectly cheerful and attentive to their duty. Tuesday evening I was not much troubled with sea-sickness, and I enjoyed a good night's rest; but Wednesday, January 20, was a hard day, nothing but sea-sickness. In pursuance of the advice of Captain Wellman, I remained on deck as much of the time as possible. The weather was somewhat cold, but the wind moderate. We drifted along the greater portion of the day, not faster than two or three knots an hour. After suffering from sea-sickness till noon, I went to my berth. There is an inexpressible lassitude accompanying sea-sickness, that is worse than anything else. It requires an effort to make the least exertion.

Thursday, January 21. This day we had snow all the time. I remained on deck twelve hours, and towards evening felt vigorous and well. The weather begins to grow milder. I begin to relish food and to enjoy sea fare. Our steward has been sick ever since we left port, and we are in consequence obliged to do the best we can without a cook. It is now evening, the breeze freshens, the bark dances along merrily, and there are signs of a gale of wind. I remained up till eight o'clock, and then retired for the night. As I awoke from time to time, I could observe from the working of our vessel that it went hard on deck. I took things quietly and remained in my berth, and about sunrise of

Friday, January 22, I went on deck. The scene was wild and exciting. The ocean tossed in wild confusion, and our brave bark riding the crests of the waves like a sea-bird. The gale had been a severe one, and the captain told me that at one time he expected he should be obliged to lay to under bare poles. We pursued our way before the wind, making nine and ten knots per hour.

Saturday, January 23. The sea has become much smoother and the weather milder. Yesterday we were in the midst of the Gulf Stream, and to-day we have passed it.

Sunday, January 24, was a beautiful day. The weather mild and lazy. I was on deck all day, — part of the time reading, and part dozing and sleeping. It is comfortable on deck without a coat. We are getting rapidly into southern latitudes.

Monday, Tuesday, January 25, 26. Head wind and slow progress. Monday we saw several sail. The weather exceedingly mild and soft. I never enjoyed existence more than on these two days, — that is, mere existence. I dreamed away many hours, and built and pulled down air castles. The thought of home was uppermost. What a change in outward things in six days. In Bucksport you wrap your cloaks and comforters around you; at sea we pull off our coats. My health is perfect; everything like sea-sickness has left me.

Wednesday, January 27. This is likewise a mild, soft, somewhat damp day. We make exceedingly slow progress; the wind is dead ahead. I fear we shall be a month reaching the Brazos. Shall I hear from you there, and how many letters will await me? I trust I shall be with you again in the course of the summer. I dwell much on my probable duties in Mexico. In case the contest should be of short duration, I shall certainly return in the course of the year. I fear that you will take things hard in my absence. When I reach the Brazos, I may be able to speak with some certainty of my duties in Mexico.

Thursday, January 28. Last evening we had a rough night. This morning the sea is very rough, and our bark is pitching about in all directions. I am fortunate in having no return of sea-sickness. My boy, Owen, is not so fortunate. I observed his head over the bulwarks a few moments since in no equivocal position. He is a nice, willing lad. I picked him up in Boston, the very day we sailed. He is now in the steward's hands learning to cook. On reaching the Brazos, he will be quite accomplished in the culinary art.

Friday, January 29. To-day we are making fine progress, about nine miles per hour; shall reach the Abaco Island, one of the Bahamas, on Saturday (to-morrow night) at this rate. The weather is charming. I have most of the day read in my military works, sitting on the deck of the vessel. The weather is, indeed, rather warm.

Saturday, January 30. Last night there was a change of wind, and to-day we are making little or no progress. The sea somewhat rough. We shall not reach the Abaco this evening.

Sunday, January 31. Last evening the wind died away, and to-day we have not moved one mile per hour. The sun has been warm; I have worn nothing about my neck to-day. Several of the men are barefoot, and all of us are in our shirt-sleeves. We are in about latitude 27°, and some one hundred miles from the Bahamas. This calm weather is very tedious, but we must be patient; we have now been out twelve days.

Monday, February 1. This has been an exquisite day. Soon after dinner our eyes were rejoiced with the sight of land, the first since leaving Boston, thirteen days since. Our bark glides along with scarcely any perceptible motion. Towards night we approached the Great Abaco, and about seven saw the revolving light and the Hole in the Wall, caused, according to the jolly sons of Neptune, by the Devil's chasing a porpoise through the rock-bound shore of the Great Abaco. The hole is, indeed, a small arched opening through the rocks, admitting the passage of a small boat.

Friday, February 2. Another splendid day. Early in the morning we made the Berry Islands, inhabited by some fifty or sixty blacks under a black chief. We saw one of their boats returning from turtle-fishing. About seven we commenced crossing the Bahama Banks in soundings, nearly all the way of one hundred miles, from twelve to twenty-four feet. We had a clean run, and went into deep water about seven o'clock, running the one hundred miles in about twelve hours. The evening was surpassingly lovely. I remained on deck till ten, looking at the stars and thinking of home.

Wednesday, February 3. This day has fairly brought us into the Mexican Gulf. In ten days, I trust, we shall reach the Brazos. To-day I have been overhauling my clothes. My boy Owen has mended some rents in my garments. He says he can wash like "fun." The captain teases him a good deal about the bright Irish lass he left in Ann Street. Owen wants me, when I reach Mexico, not only to buy a mule for his use, but a little cart for the things; quite an idea. To-day we are in latitude 24° 13′. The weather very warm. I have found the heat quite oppressive.

Thursday, February 4. Nothing of consequence has occurred to-day. We are moving on quickly with prosperous though gentle winds.

Friday, February 5. Everything has moved on lazily to-day. We have seen several vessels.

Saturday, February 6. Same as yesterday. A vessel is in sight, apparently bound to the north. It is now nearly three o'clock, and we have been out eighteen days. I shall seal up and send this letter by the vessel, if she prove to be bound north, and I trust it will find you well. We are now about five hundred and sixty miles from the Brazos. Shall I hear from you there? Love to the children, to Mary; remembrances to Mr. Osgood, Kidder, Mr. and Mrs. Tinkham.

The vessel did not send her boat, and no opportunity was offered to send this letter. We passed directly under her stern. She was a brig of two hundred tons, and bound to New York. This letter must remain on my hands till I reach the Brazos.

Sunday, February 7. A most melancholy event occurred on board to-day. As I was lying in my berth, about a quarter before twelve o'clock, Captain Wellman came into the cabin, somewhat agitated, and said to me, "Our steward is not to be found." All hands were on deck in a moment, and a thorough search was made in all parts of the ship. The steward was not to be found anywhere. The appearance of the galley was conclusive as to his having thrown himself overboard. He was seen at half past eleven, and yet little or no preparation had been made for dinner. He had been observed to be moody and absent-minded in the course of the morning. We could assign no cause for the act. He had been treated well, and his duties were light. My servant had assisted him throughout the passage. His sudden disappearance whilst four men were on deck, in good smooth weather, caused us all to feel melancholy. We ate very little dinner. Our thoughts were sad, and we passed much of our time through the remainder of the day in recalling every little incident of the voyage having any connection with the unfortunate steward. The only thing which gave any light was certain expressions he had made use of, showing a melancholy and restless spirit. We found out, moreover, that he was suffering very severely from the bad disorder, contracted some two months since in Liverpool. This may have been the cause of his making way with himself.

Monday, February 8. We none of us passed a quiet night, in consequence of the distressing event of yesterday. One of the crew has been put into the galley, and things go on in the accustomed manner. This evening the effects of the steward were disposed of to the crew at auction; and so he has gone to his account, and our bark is pursuing her destined course. Our vessel has gone on very quietly the last two days.

Tuesday, February 9. We still have quiet times, and are gradually approaching the Brazos. With tolerable good luck we shall arrive there in two or three days. It is now evening and seven o'clock. There is every appearance of a norther. The captain has been somewhat anxiously pacing the deck for the last hour. It is now eight o'clock, and I will turn in for the night.

Wednesday, February 10. A severe norther came up about nine last evening, and is now sweeping over the Gulf. Our bark works admirably. Occasionally she ships a sea. But her deck for the most part is dry. The weather is very cold, and I have kept my berth nearly all day.

Thursday, February 11. The norther did not commence to abate till noon to-day. It is now six P. M. The water is comparatively smooth. I have been somewhat unwell for two or three days, but hope to become well with smoother weather.

Friday, February 12. We had a quiet night, and this morning we have scarcely a breath of wind. Our estimated distance from the Brazos is about sixty miles. We shall not arrive till to-morrow. I fear I shall not hear from you. There is some, yes, great doubt, whether letters to the army are forwarded by mail beyond New Orleans, in which event all your letters to me will remain in the New Orleans office; nor can they be forwarded till I can send for them by some ship going there.

Saturday, February 13. It is now about two P. M., and we are in direct view of the Brazos, which is some six miles distant. We are beating up against a head wind, and there is considerable doubt as to whether we shall make our anchorage to-night. The wind has gradually subsided, and it is now nearly a calm. Unless a fresh breeze should spring up, we shall require another day. This is our twenty-fifth day.

Sunday, February 14, five P. M. I have just reached the

Brazos, and find General Worth, Colonel Totten, Lieutenants Mason and Tower, and many other officers here. An opportunity offers to send this letter. I will write again in a few days. I shall remain at the Brazos a few days longer. Remember me to Kidder and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Tinkham, Mr. Osgood, and love of course to the children and Mary.

Affectionately yours,

ISAAC.

BRAZOS SANTIAGO, February 21, 1847.

MY DEAREST MARGARET, — It is now Sunday, one week since I landed. Your letter and Mary's have reached me, and I have had the inexpressible pleasure of hearing from home. How happy it made me to hear from you all! My little children are doing well, your health is good, and you are passing a quiet and comfortable winter. It is the greatest joy to me to learn all this. I knew you would find Mr. Osgood a great addition to our little circle, and with Mary as your companion, who has always sympathized with you entirely, I did not anticipate a very tiresome winter.

Since reaching here I have had little or nothing to do. It was fortunate I reached the Brazos as early as I did. I saw and had some conversation with Colonel Totten. On Monday, the day after my arrival, General Scott and a portion of his staff departed for Tampico. There were left behind four officers of engineers, of General Scott's staff, with directions to follow by the first opportunity. These officers are Lieutenants Mason, Trapier, Tower, and myself. Mason is in fine health, full of animation and conversation, and very popular with his brother officers. Tower is the same as ever, a man of great native power, but entirely unobtrusive. Trapier is an officer you have never seen, a man of fine address and considerable ability. We all like him very much indeed.

The general left in excellent spirits. On taking leave of the engineer officers he made some very complimentary remarks in reference to the importance of our duties, and his expectations in regard to us. He will remain in Tampico a few days and then proceed to the Island of Lobos, where a large expedition is to concentrate to land and attack Vera Cruz. It is expected that a force of fourteen thousand men will effect a landing. General Worth is in command of three thousand regulars at this point, most of whom have embarked. General Worth and staff are still here. He is somewhat delicate in health, but full of life and energy. He is thought to be our great man to handle troops on a battlefield.

I have seen a good deal of my old friend Hunt the last few days. He is attached to Colonel Duncan's battery, and is now in my room talking with Mason. He is a man I esteem very much, and he is as worthy of it as ever. Colonel Duncan has just come in. He is a noble fellow, not in the least elated by the enviable position he occupied in the army and before the whole country. He is a man of extraordinary energy of character, great decision, and great sagacity. His name and his battery are a terror to the Mexicans, and he is emphatically thus far the great man of the young officers. He is modest, amiable, mild, as he is far-sighted, decisive, indomitable. He is what his friends knew him to be years ago. Mason and himself are great friends.

Captain Saunders of the engineers is here on General Worth's staff, and will probably be brevetted for distinguished services at Monterey.

I shall probably sail on Wednesday next for Tampico, and thence to the island of Lobos. Lobos is about sixty miles south of Tampico, and affords an ample protection against northers. At Tampico I shall probably find General Scott and staff. There I hope to meet Tilden, Carpenter, and other old friends.

Everything is in the greatest confusion here; a thousand laborers and teamsters are employed to manage teams, take care of animals and stores, and load and discharge lighters. Ever since my arrival, there has been the greatest hurry in embarking troops. There is great want of system. Most of the men here in government employ are not business men. Some of the quartermasters are inefficient. There are some good men. The best business man in the quartermaster's employ is Lawton, of Newport, brother-in-law of the Turners (Colonel Robert R. Lawton). He is harbor master, and in receipt of one hundred and fifty dollars per month. Everybody speaks of him in the highest terms. He is energetic, intelligent, and perfectly temperate. He looks in admirable condition. He has applied for, and will probably receive, a captain's commission in one of the new regiments. I have seen and conversed with him here. He is full of hope, life, and energy.

General Butler has just arrived from Monterey, on his return to the States, and in consequence of his wound not healing. General Taylor occupies a position in advance of Saltillo, with eighteen field-pieces, a small body of regular infantry, and some six thousand volunteers.

My dearest girl, I know nothing certain of ulterior operations.

We have great abundance of supplies and some seven thousand choice regular troops. We cannot expect the same conduct from the volunteers as from the regulars, but we hope they will gain laurels. I shall endeavor to do my duty in whatever circumstances I may be placed. I trust I shall have full strength to do my full duty. I know this will accord with all the wishes of your own heart. I know you would rather never see me than that I should return to your arms with infamy on my brow. This latter would be terrible. The former can be borne.

As regards our dear children, I wish Hazard to go to school this summer, and I am glad he continues to be so promising. Of all things, I wish him to be obedient. Not the obedience of fear, but of love and confidence. Our little Susan I know must be a bright, merry child. Would that I could witness daily her youth, growth, and development!

Preserve a tranquil spirit; let hope at all times animate and strengthen you. Have courage, have faith; we shall come together again, all the better for the trials of separation. I shall write a note to Mary to accompany this. The mail leaves to-morrow for New Orleans. Write often, and continue to direct your letters to Brazos Santiago.

Remember me to all my Bucksport friends, to Kidder and his wife, Osgood, Mr. and Mrs. Tinkham. Of course all the love in the world for Hazard and Sue.

Affectionately yours,

Isaac.

TAMPICO, Wednesday Evening, March 10, 1847.

MY DEAREST WIFE, — We left the Brazos this evening week, and shall leave this place to-morrow morning. Our passage of only two hundred and fifty miles thus occupied us seven days. We are somewhat apprehensive that we shall not reach Vera Cruz till General Scott shall have effected a landing. Mason, Tower, and three other officers are with me. Our ship now lies three miles outside the bar. Our passage up the river Tampico to this place (six miles above the bar) was a fairy scene. Beautiful views met our eyes, and the picturesque country about this place perfectly enchanted us. The atmosphere is delightful. We see few but Mexicans about us. Every one looks friendly. News has just reached Tampico that General Taylor has had a hard-fought battle with Santa Anna. All the accounts came through Mexican channels. Santa Anna claims a victory. He states that Taylor is shut up in Monterey. But he admits that he himself has not advanced. We infer and believe that Santa Anna has been defeated, and will soon return to San Luis Potosi. I feel sanguine that a decisive success on the part of General Scott may terminate the war. I hope so.

There is a chance to send this letter in the morning. I of course write in haste. You shall hear from me again on my arrival at Vera Cruz.

Affectionately yours,

ISAAC.

The landing took place on Tuesday and Wednesday last (March 9 and 10), and the investment was completed on Thursday. The heavy ordnance is still on board ship. The debarkation is said to have been a most splendid affair. The first division landed in two hours. General Worth was the first man to jump on shore. The city will undoubtedly fall in a few days. No opposition whatever was made by the Mexicans to the landing. There was a little skirmishing during the investment.

At the Brazos I lost my servant Owen. He found he could get much better wages than I had agreed to give him, and in consequence thereof he deserted me on the day I left, and I had not time to recover him. I shall find some difficulty in procuring a good servant here.

I was very thankful that you wrote father and Mary. I wish you to keep up some little correspondence with them during my absence. They will always be glad to hear from you. My father has had his full share of sorrow, and has suffered as much as most men I know. I have never had so true and so disinterested a friend as he. He is absorbed in his children, and, though he expresses little, he feels much. His daughters have left him one by one, and but one is left. I feel very sad when I think of him. I trust that Mary will be spared to him for many years.

We hope to get on shore to-morrow, but as a strong norther has been blowing since last evening, and is not yet entirely abated, it is possible we may not land till Tuesday.

I shall keep this letter open till the last moment. The mail is forwarded by vessels sailing to New Orleans, and is not very regular.

Thursday morning, March 18. We reached the anchorage off the island of Sacrificios on Sunday, and did not get on shore till last evening (Wednesday). We found the headquarters of General Scott some half a mile from the place of landing. On our way thither we met Colonel Totten and Captain Lee going out of camp on a reconnoissance.

The camp occupies a circuit of some eight or ten miles. We find every one in high spirits. The fact is considered unquestioned that General Taylor has utterly defeated Santa Anna and driven him across the desert. I meet many friends in camp.

Sunday, March 21. I have now been on shore four days. We are busily employed on the works preparatory to opening our fire on the place. Everything is going on finely. My duties interest me much. The climate is very fine. The colonel and his officers form one mess, and we have a pleasant time. Don't believe the many idle reports in regard to losses. Thus far we have lost only one man. The army is in fine spirits.

Love to every one of my friends, my dear children, and you, my dear Margaret. I long to embrace you. I shall write again by next mail.

Your affectionate

Isaac.

CHAPTER VIII

VERA CRUZ. — CERRO GORDO

Vera Cruz, an old Spanish walled town on the Gulf of Mexico, with a population of 12,000, was situated on a sandy plain, which, extending back from the town, was broken by many sand-hills and ridges, and covered in great part with dense chapparal. On the land side a strong line of masonry works encircled the city from Fort Conception on the beach above, or north of, to Fort Santiago below it; while on the sea side the castle of San Juan de Ulloa, seated on an island a thousand yards in advance of the town, commanded all approaches with 128 heavy guns, and made the sea front doubly secure.

The American army landed unopposed on March 9, 1847, on the beach a few miles south of the town; during the next four days extended lines of investment completely around the doomed city on the land side, and, having with great labor and some interruption from northers landed the heavy siege-guns, mortars, and material for the bombardment, commenced the batteries on the 18th, the second day after the young engineer officers reached the scene of action. They were at once set to work reconnoitring the ground and the enemy's works by day, and laying out the batteries and superintending the working parties by night.

Lieutenant Stevens threw himself into this work with even more than his accustomed zeal. On one of his daring reconnoissances the horse he rode — a powerful and headstrong animal loaned him by his friend, Lieutenant

Tower — took the bit in his teeth and bolted directly for the enemy's lines. Finding it impossible to stop or control the frantic steed, Lieutenant Stevens, throwing his whole strength on one rein, managed to make him swerve towards the base of a sand-hill, where he threw himself from the saddle, escaping injury on the soft ground, while the runaway continued his course to the very walls of the city.

The batteries were placed midway between the lines of investment and the city, and about 900 yards from the walls. Lieutenant Stevens was indefatigable in searching out the best routes for the boyaux, or covered ways, to enable the troops to pass to and from the batteries without loss from the enemy's fire. The broken sand-hills and dense chapparal rendered this a difficult and laborious task; and in forcing his way through these thorny and almost impenetrable thickets his hands were so badly torn, and perhaps poisoned, that for several days he was obliged to have them bandaged with poultices of prickly pear. The route which he thus looked out was adopted, and the construction of the covered way was placed under his charge, with large working parties, for several nights, until completed. His experiences are best told in his own words. The independence, almost insubordination, of the new volunteers is simply the common experience with citizen soldiery fresh from home, but which they soon outgrow under good officers in a few months' campaigning.

Friday, March 18. At two A. M. Lieutenants Mason, Stevens, and Tower entered the trenches and relieved Captain Lee and Lieutenants Beauregard and McClellan. No workers or guards present, save twelve sappers, till four o'clock. Lieutenant Mason at Battery 2. Lieutenant Stevens at Battery 1. Lieutenant Tower in communication leading to cemetery. Colonel Scott in command of the working party. A company of the 8th infantry, under command of Lieutenants Jordan and Pitcher, in Battery 1. About seven o'clock Lieutenant Foster relieved Lieutenant Tower, who returned to camp to supervise construction of powder magazines. At half past twelve Lieutenant Stevens ordered to examine the infantry communication, reconnoitred on the previous day, in order to commence the trenches at night with a working party.

At two P. M. Captain Sanders on the naval battery. Lieutenants Stevens and Smith on the right were on duty. The naval battery laid out during the day by Captain Lee. Lieutenant Smith took particular charge of Batteries 3 and 4, and the remainder of the communication to Battery 1, with a fatigue party under Major Graham; Lieutenant Stevens, of the boyau of communication from camp to batteries with a fatigue party of 400 volunteers, New Yorkers and Pennsylvanians. Did not report at beach till nine P. M. Arrived on the ground at ten P. M. Two hours occupied in laying out the boyau with a cord and getting the whole force at work. Whilst Lieutenant Stevens was absent in discharge of his duties of supervision at the batteries and trenches under the particular charge of Lieutenant Smith, the volunteers abandoned their work and returned to camp, excepting a small force of fifty men on the left of the large sandhill, in rear of which the communication passed.

Saturday, March 19. About dark a large force of 400 men reported at the old cemetery as a fatigue party in the boyau under the charge of Lieutenant Stevens, — four companies of regulars, Brooks and Shackleford, 2d artillery; Lieutenant Ernst, 6th infantry; Lieutenant Rodgers, 2d dragoons, — the whole under the command of Captain De Hart, — and four companies of volunteers, Pennsylvanians.

The regulars employed on communication from Battery 1 to Battery 2, on parapet to the right of Battery 2, and on the trench from the upper end of the valley to the first hollow of the natural trench leading through the long ridge in rear of the batteries, the volunteers on the remaining part of the boyaux. The regulars made their trench practicable. The volunteers could not be made to work with the most strenuous exertions on the part of the officers. Some were drunk and all sleepy. They complained of being tired and hungry. Some delay occurred throughout the works in consequence of a musketry fire from the trenches. Lieutenant Mason in charge of a working party at the batteries.

Monday, March 22. The boyaux of communication made practicable and safe to-day, although not sufficiently commodious; a fatigue party of 200 men reporting to Lieutenant Stevens, and commencing work at five A. M.; two companies regulars of 2d artillery, Captain McKensie and Lieutenant Hardcastle, Captain Kendrick; and two of marines, Lieutenant Adams.

This party worked with extraordinary vigor till three o'clock, all the men in the trenches all the time, the officers giving their whole energy to supervising the men; Captain McKensie, in command of the working party, exhibiting great energy and efficiency. The day was quite warm, and an immense amount of work done. Lieutenant Mason at the batteries with fatigue party under the command of Captain Swartwout.

Tuesday, March 23. A fatigue party of 200 men reported to Lieutenant Stevens, and commenced work in the boyaux at 9½ A. M., working with great vigor till dark, all the men constantly at work, and made the boyaux very safe and commodious, — two companies regulars, Captain E. W. Smith and Lieutenant Bissel, 5th infantry, two companies marines.

NOTE. More work is done by day than by night under fire. The working parties by day did at least double the work per man of the working parties by night. A severe sand-storm blowing all day and night.

Lieutenant Stevens reported the completion of the boyaux to the chief engineer at 8½ P. M., and, after an hour's rest, at his request returned to the trenches and assisted Lieutenant Mason till relieved at four o'clock in the morning.

Thursday, March 25. Lieutenants Mason and Stevens relieved the engineer officers on the right at four A. M. Great exertions were made at Battery No. 4, which opened its fire at eight A. M. The fatigue party in the trenches, Alabama volunteers, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Earle, remarkably fearless and efficient. One sapper and two volunteers placed at each embrasure to repair it after every discharge. By their courage and exertions, the fire of the battery was not obstructed during the day. Lieutenant Mason made three reconnoissances of the enemy's works, accompanied twice by Lieutenant Stevens. Two companies of the 1st artillery served the guns, Captain Magruder and Lieutenant Haskin; Major L. Whitney in command of the force serving the batteries.

At eleven A. M. Captain Lee commenced establishing a new mortar battery on the left of No. 1.

Saturday, March 27. A severe norther raging yesterday made great ravages in the works that were repaired to-day. Lieutenants Mason and Stevens in the trenches at four A. M. A new mortar battery commenced yesterday nearly finished to-day, under the particular direction of Lieutenant Stevens, with a working party of one company of the 4th infantry under the command of Lieutenant Lincoln.

Sunday, March 28. A partial survey of the trenches made by Lieutenants Beauregard, Stevens, and Tower.

CAMP WASHINGTON (three miles from VERA CRUZ),
March 27, 1847.

MY DEAREST MARGARET, — I have now the unspeakable satisfaction of telling you that both the city and the castle have capitulated after a bombardment of rather less than four days, and from the ninth day of opening the trenches, and with a loss on our side of less than forty in killed and wounded. I will tell you what your poor subaltern of a husband has had to do in this matter. On Thursday, March 18, I made a reconnoissance with Mason to determine the position of a road for wagons, and of a covered communication for infantry. On Friday morning, March 19, I left camp at two in the morning, and was kept hard at work till four the next morning in constructing a battery and opening the communications thereto. During the course of this operation the enemy hurled at us some two hundred round-shot and shells. None came very near me. I had to encourage the men at their work, and had no time to attend to my fears.

VERA CRUZ, April 3.

MY DEAREST WIFE, — It is now Saturday, and we have been in possession of the city one week. Great destruction was spread throughout the city by our shells. In the portion next to our batteries a shell entered every house, and almost each room of every house, in consequence of which many inoffensive people were killed. Vera Cruz is a miserable, dirty place; the streets are full of filth, and there are great numbers of poor people. Many families still keep their doors closed, though scarcely an outrage has been committed in the city. The people, though miserably poor, are very courteous and mild in their general deportment. Ever since our entrance into the city, the poor have been fed each day from our government stores, and every exertion is made to protect the whole city in its rights.

General Worth is governor of the city. The weather is rather warm, and we find mosquitoes, fleas, etc., troublesome. The city, though sorry in its sunlight aspect, is remarkably picturesque by moonlight. The style of architecture is of the Moorish character, abounding in domes and highly wrought work. I have several times wandered through the deserted streets of the city by night, filled with admiration of the gorgeous and Oriental aspect of the scene. It surpasses anything I ever saw. My health is very fine.

VERA CRUZ, April 10.

MY DEAREST WIFE, — We are now preparing to march into the interior, and shall probably leave in a day or two. One half of the army are already on their way. We hope to enter the City of Mexico, and to contemplate the wonders of the capital, in one month. In the reduction of the city we have had fortune on our side. The grossest supineness prevailed in the Mexican ranks, though at times they awoke from their slumbers and poured into our midst well-directed fires of artillery. Our loss is very little. John R. Minton, a most gallant soldier, was killed on the first day of opening our fires. He was universally esteemed, and I had made his acquaintance on the first day of landing. He died for his country, before his country's gratitude for gallant services at Monterey had been communicated in the shape of a brevet.

The burden of the day came with great weight on the officers of engineers. It is the universal sentiment of the army that they did their duty. We see it in the individual deportment of every officer with whom we are associated on duty. We had exciting times. Friends whom I had not seen since I left West Point, I shook for the first time warmly by the hand under the heavy fire of the enemy's batteries. I met Haskin and Callender in such a conjuncture. There was not the least shrinking from duty, but each one stood up manfully to his task and did his whole duty; we all worked hard. The engineers failed in no part of their duty, and the consequence was that the loss of human life was comparatively trifling. I never worked so hard in my life. It was our first experience in the field, and I think we have fulfilled the expectations of the general and of our immediate chief (Colonel Totten).

I have already written you in relation to the city. We all long to leave so much moonlight magnificence and sunlight squalidity, and breathe the pure mountain air of Jalapa and Perote. Our troops are yet comparatively healthy. The sickly season will not come upon us for a month. Up in the mountains it is the most salubrious and delightful climate of the

New World. Our troops conduct themselves with remarkable propriety. Very few cases have occurred of excesses of any kind, and all such are punished with extreme severity. Mason is in fine health, and is doing, as was to be expected, good service. All our officers are superior men, and we stand by each other like a band of brothers.

I have secured a beautiful animal in the way of a horse, docile as a kitten and very intelligent. He has a beautiful eye and head, and will follow me wherever I go. I intend to bring him home with me. I have also a very good servant. He is an old soldier. I have just returned from a ride to our old camp. There is a fine hard beach all the way, which reminds me of the beach at Newport. My little horse is very fleet, and carried me over the beach in very rapid style. How would Hazard be delighted to see him stretch out! You must tell my little Hazard about my horse. When I come home he shall ride him every day. They would soon be fast friends, I doubt not.

Have I told you that we are living in the government palace? At first we took our meals at the public house, but so much dirt and filth was to be met with everywhere that we formed a mess, and live in our own rooms. Our mess is now reduced to four, Major Smith, Captain Lee, Mason, and myself. There is a fine vegetable market close by, where we can provide ourselves; and as for meats, we have a barrel of hams. This morning I went to the market and observed quite a variety of tropical fruits; tomatoes, sweet potatoes, pineapples, plantains, lettuce, the Mexican squash, are in great abundance.

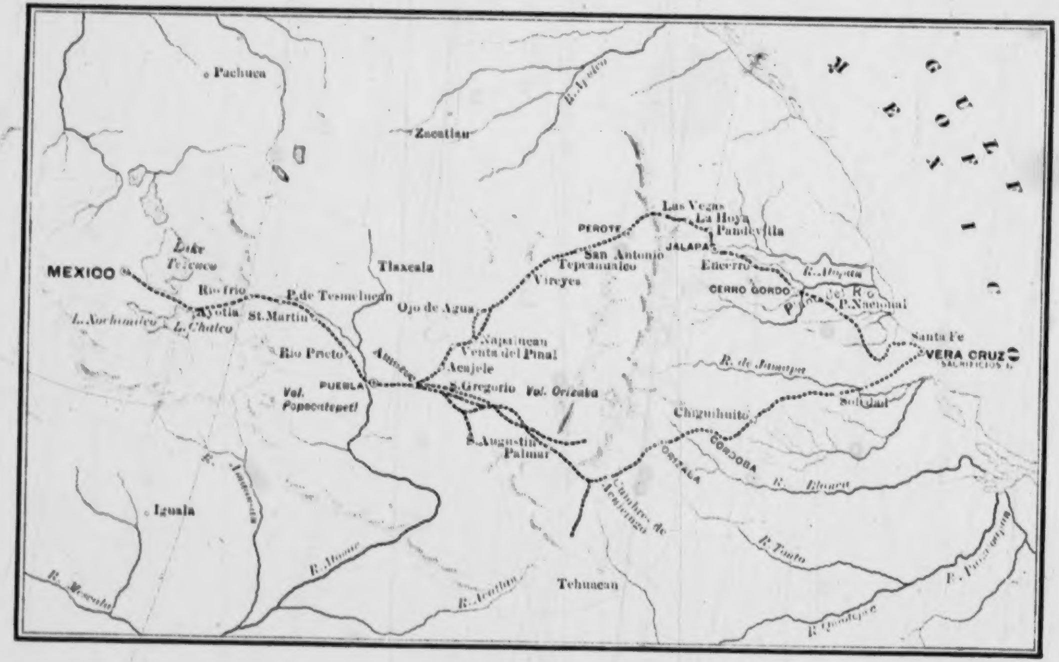
VERA CRUZ, April 11.

MY DEAR FATHER, — We are now in the midst of our arrangements to march into the interior, two divisions of the army (Twiggs and Patterson) having already marched. The greatest difficulty is on account of transportation. Vera Cruz is still healthy, and there is no natural reason why it should not be as salubrious as New Orleans. Its filth and nastiness is almost beyond belief, and is the efficient cause of its great sickliness in summer. Our authorities are now making every exertion to cleanse the city. Our troops behave well. Some few excesses have been committed, and these are punished with exemplary severity. General Scott has instituted military commissions to try a large class of offenses that, in an enemy's country, cannot be reached under the articles of war, and martial law has been proclaimed as a supplemental code. Yesterday a negro was hanged outside the city walls for committing rape upon a Mexican woman.

We hope that peace will be established in the course of the summer. At all events, General Scott will find no difficulty in entering the City of Mexico. Our own troops, regulars and volunteers, are in a high state of discipline, and pant for an opportunity to signalize themselves. The Mexican troops have been demoralized by many successive defeats, and cannot, man to man, cope with our own. They are decidedly inferior, both in the men and the organization. In such cases numbers are of little account. All experience shows that resolution, courage, and enterprise, qualities possessed by our troops in an eminent degree, will overcome any tumultuous rabble. I verily believe that our little army of twelve thousand men is able to defeat any body of Mexicans, however large.

You know the papers have been full of the complaints of the sappers and miners, or engineer soldiers. These men I am on duty with every day. They are the pride of the whole army, confessedly the best soldiers in the army. I never saw so superior a company of soldiers, Americans all, young men, having character, zeal, and intelligence, proud of their duties and of their position, perfectly subordinate, and cheerful in their obedience. I personally know almost every man of the sappers and miners. During the investment and siege of Vera Cruz they exhibited an extraordinary gallantry, and were all placed in the position of non-commissioned officers. Each man had direction of a working party, and in the execution of that duty they retained their arms and gave directions to the men.

Lieutenant Stevens took great interest in the engineer company, so largely the result of his recommendations and exertions. His diary of the march inland commences the next day.


GULF OF MEXICO
Pachuca
Zacatlan
R. Apulco
MEXICO
Lake Tezcuco
L. Xochimilco
L. Chalco
Rio frio
Ayotla
St. Martin
P. de Tesmelucan
Tlaxcala
Ojo de Agua
Rio Prieto
PUEBLA
Vol. Popocatepetl
Amozoc
Acajete
Venta del Pinal
Napaluca
S. Gregorio
Vol. Orizaba
S. Augustin
Palmar
Vireyes
Tepeyahualco
San Antonio
PEROTE
Las Vegas
La Hoya
Pandevilla
JALAPA
Encerro
CERRO GORDO
R. Alopan
Plan del Rio
P. Nacional
Santa Fe
VERA CRUZ
SACRIFICIOS I.
R. de Jamapa
Soledad
Chiquihuite
CORDOBA
ORIZABA
Cumbres de Acultzingo
R. Blanco
R. Tonto
R. Papaloapan
R. Quiotepec
Tehuacan
R. Acatlan
R. Atoyac
R. Amacusac
Iguala
R. Mescala

ROUTE, VERA CRUZ TO MEXICO

✓

March 29. The army made its entrance into the city this day at ten o'clock, and the general headquarters were established in the main plaza. General Worth was appointed governor of the city. The engineer company, although it had preëminently distinguished itself for gallantry and general conduct throughout the whole operation of the investment and siege, had no place assigned to it in the ceremonies of either the surrender or the entrance.

Colonel Totten sailed on the Princeton to the States as bearer of dispatches, and with the view of resuming his position at the head of the department, leaving Major John L. Smith in command. Lieutenant Stevens was this day directed to assume the duties of adjutant, and a sapper was detailed to assist him.

March 30. Lieutenants Stevens, Tower, and Foster, with a detachment of twelve sappers, commenced the survey of the defenses of the city and castle. Lieutenant Mason was temporarily assigned to duty with General Quitman on an expedition to Alvarado.

Monday, April 12. The engineers left Vera Cruz with the general staff at five P. M., and reached Vigara, three miles distant, where they encamped for the night. Here a little stream flows into the sea, over which is an arched bridge of masonry, somewhat out of repair.

I found myself exceedingly exhausted in consequence of my exertions before leaving the city in getting wagons for the baggage and train of the engineer company, and in attending to turning in the baggage of the engineer staff.

Tuesday, April 13. We started early, and found the road as far as Santa Fé exceedingly sandy and difficult for carriages. Santa Fé is situated in the midst of a prairie affording tolerable pasture for cattle, and has the honor of municipal regulation in the shape of an alcalde. There are some twenty little houses of trellis-work at this place. At the river San Juan, six miles from Santa Fé and twelve from Vigara, over which is thrown a fine bridge of masonry with a long causeway at its western extremity, we halted and dined. Before leaving, Worth's advance, consisting of Duncan's battery and Lieutenant-Colonel C. F. Smith's light companies, reached the San Juan, where they encamped for the night. Resuming our march at three P. M., we pushed forward over at times a somewhat rough and hilly road, and at other points easy and practicable, till we reached our camping ground for the night, the Talome River, having a one-arch bridge.

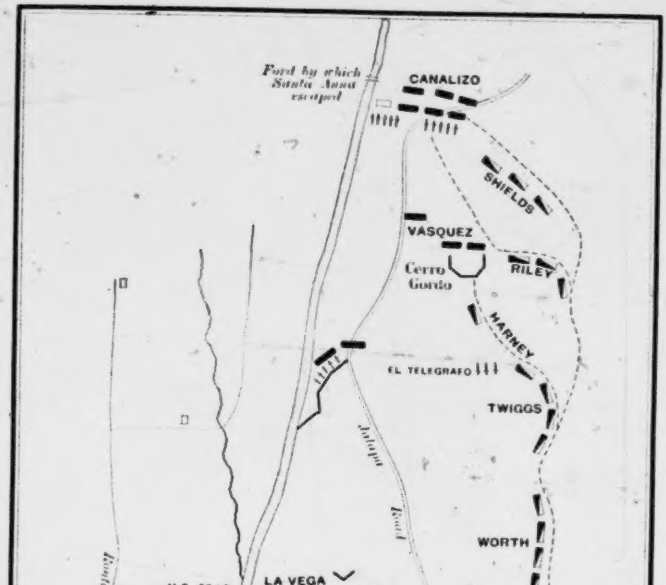
Wednesday, April 14. Resuming our march early in the morning, we reached the National Bridge at about ten A. M., distant eight miles from our encampment, after making a halt of an hour at Paso de Obejas (distant two and one half miles from Talome), where we met a wagon train. There is a considerable village at this river.

On leaving the village, the road winds its way to the top of a very high hill, where there is an inspiring view of the surrounding country. Whilst the general was halting at the village, I rode to the top of the hill to take a view. At some distance to the south I could see a small band of rancheros watching the movements of our party. The National Bridge is a model of the kind, possessing much architectural beauty, and impressing the mind of the beholder that an iron and a lofty race had done this work in the solitudes of the mountain pass. The scenery is of the most picturesque and imposing character. The road, previous to reaching the bridge, winds round a bold tongue of land, on the edge and apex of which a little fort had been built. From the first view of the pass, the road descends the side of a steep hill, constructed originally with great care, due attention having been paid to both curves and grades. On passing the bridge, on the left is a bold promontory, and the little fort and the open village at the other extremity of the bridge. On the right and downward side the river flows through a deep ravine, on either side of which perpendicular columns of rock rise hundreds of feet. The current gently flowed over a rocky bed, and was at points fordable. A thunderstorm in this mountain pass, the swollen stream rushing impetuously to the sea, must be terrific. After halting two hours at the National Bridge, we pushed on to the Plano del Rio, the advance of the army. This was a difficult march of thirteen miles, with no water on the road for our horses. At some four miles from the bridge we reached a causeway, built with care, and which, leading over a little depression at its foot, is conducted almost to the top of a hill on the other side. On our way we met parties from camp searching the country for beef.

We reached the Plano del Rio at about five o'clock, and after remaining about an hour with Major Smith and Captain Lee, I accompanied Lieutenant Tower on a reconnoissance. We proceeded on the Jalapa road some three miles and a half, until we came in view of Battery 4 on the left of the road. Then, returning a short distance, we proceeded some distance on a path leading from the road till we came in view of the same battery, and one farther to the left, No. 3. From an examination of a sketch of Lieutenant Tower, exhibiting the results of all the reconnoissances since the arrival of General Twiggs, there could be little doubt that the proper mode of attack was to the right, so as to turn the enemy's works and compel them to lay down their arms. The reconnoissances were not, however, complete, and the general, after informing himself of the position as far as it had been ascertained, determined that the reconnoissances should be extended. I found a bath in the river most delightful and refreshing after the severe labors of the day.

Thursday, April 15. The reconnoissances of the whole position were continued to-day; Captain Lee, with Mason, Beauregard, and myself, escorted by Major Sumner on the right, Tower on the front. On reaching the point of the road before coming in view of Battery 4, I was informed by Bowman, a wagon-master of Twiggs's division, that on the other side of the river there was a practicable trail leading to the river some eight miles above the bridge, and where would probably be found a practicable ford. After accompanying Captain Lee in his reconnoissance to a high hill about seven hundred yards from the Cerro Gordo, the key of the enemy's position, and getting a full view of it and of the ravines, valleys, etc., to the right, I returned home with a guide, and reported the statement of Bowman to Major Smith. He was then starting with an escort to examine the enemy's works from the left bank of the river, with the view of establishing enfilading batteries against them. I also accompanied him; and after he had made his examinations, I requested permission to continue farther up, with a portion of the escort, till I could get a better view of the enemy's rear. A body of four hundred cavalry having been observed only about four miles up the river bank, Major Smith felt constrained to refuse my request. On returning from the reconnoissance I explained very fully my general views in reference to the proper mode of conducting the reconnoissances of the position, and that though thus far particular points had been carefully examined, and the engineer officers had been very industrious, yet the reconnoissances had been undertaken on too limited a scale, and did not cover the whole of the position. The dragoons are admirable for extensive reconnoissances, yet no attempt has been made to determine the practicability and even the existence of certain routes, on both the right and left, which are said to obtain; that branching from the Jalapa road, a little this side of the National Bridge, joined it again a short distance before reaching Jalapa. Either of these routes, pursued by Worth's column, would have effectually turned the position of the Cerro Gordo. Moreover, the reconnoissance on the right bank of the river had not been extended so as to get a view of the rear of the Cerro Gordo; and from the circumstance that four hundred lancers were on the right river bank, and in position about four miles above the bridge, the inference was almost conclusive that there was a practicable ford leading to the position in rear of the Cerro Gordo, and which the lancers were thrown out to cover. It was also suggested that a spirited reconnoissance in that direction would settle two essential questions, essential to properly combining the plan of attack, — 1, Whether there was not a practicable ford, by means of which the enemy could escape, and at which point a column of attack might be directed against him; 2, Whether the main body, or a considerable portion thereof, might not be *en masse* in rear of the position of the Cerro Gordo hill, and thus not be cut off by the flank movement to the right, unless extended to a wider circuit than was intended. This reconnoissance was pressed earnestly as essential, to get correct information in regard to the intentions and position of the enemy.

Friday, April 16. The reconnoissance I had recommended was ordered by General Scott on the requisition of Major Smith, and fifty dragoons, under the command of Lieutenant Steele, were placed at my disposal. With Bowman as guide, we started about half past eight o'clock, and, after crossing both branches of the river and ascending to the ranch on the hill, we struck into a broad trail, perfectly practicable for horses and field artillery, and after pursuing our way some two and three quarter miles, came to a trail nearly at right angles, and which Bowman represented as six miles distant. Leaving the escort here with Steele, Bowman, and a beef contractor, we continued in a direct course nearly a mile to some ranches, where we took a man and boy to get information. On our return we proceeded with the whole escort on the perpendicular trail to another ranch, about half a mile distant, and finally to the river supposed by Bowman to be the main stream. We found it simply a tributary to the stream flowing under the first bridge, and the descent to the ravine through which it flowed was scarcely practicable for a mounted horseman. Leaving a small escort at the ravine, the main body returning to the ranch, with Bowman I pushed forward up the other side of the ravine, and proceeded about half a mile, and nearly to the foot of a spur that led obliquely to the main branch and in a direction a little beyond the Cerro Gordo. After examining the routes and the configuration of the country, I became satisfied that the reconnoissance could not be pushed farther in this direction to any practicable result, but that the best course would be to cross the spur at a depression and extend the reconnoissance down the other side to the river. On my return to the ranch, whilst proceeding at an easy pace, I found that an old rupture which had been cured fifteen years had broken out, and before I reached the ranch I began to suffer the most excruciating pain. The further continuance of the reconnoissance was abandoned, and I returned to camp, a distance of four miles, suffering very great pain. First Dr. Brown attended me, and I was soon relieved of pain by applying cold water. Dr. Tripler applied a very fine truss, and in the course of the evening I felt perfectly comfortable.


Ford by which Santa Anna escaped
CANALIZO
SHIELDS
VASQUEZ
Cerro Gordo
RILEY
HARNEY
EL TELEGRAFO
TWIGGS
Jalapa Road
WORTH
LA VEGA
U.S. 03 LB. HOWITZER
Route of Lieut. Steven's reconnaissance April 18th
RIO DEL PLANO
PILLOW
DRAGOONS
N
AMERICAN CAMP
Plano del Rio
Mexican
American

BATTLE OF CERRO GORDO

Saturday, April 17. This day I remained in camp, able to move about only a little and with great care. In the movement of General Twiggs to his position in order of battle, he was discovered, and a spirited combat ensued, which resulted in dislodging the enemy from a hill seven hundred yards from the Cerro Gordo, and upon which a battery of one 24-pounder and two 26-pounder howitzers was put in position during the night.

Sunday, April 18. As determined on yesterday, the position of the enemy was attacked to-day and, after a most brilliant conflict, the Cerro Gordo was stormed by the brigade of Colonel Harney, the enemy's line of retreat on the Jalapa cut off by Shields's brigade of volunteers and Riley's brigade of regulars. A large portion of the enemy made their escape on the Jalapa road, and across the river at the ford before alluded to. Pillow made an attack in front, but failed in consequence of its being made prematurely, with great precipitation, without order in the assaulting columns, and before the supporting columns were in position, and at the wrong point, viz., in a ravine swept by the fire of two batteries, and with serious impediments in the way of abattis and felled trees. This attack, both as to time and as to direction, was earnestly remonstrated against by the engineer officer directing the attack, by the personal staff of the general, and by Colonel Campbell, second in command. Had the attack been made on the enemy's extreme right, the true point of attack, and which was supposed to be the point determined upon by the general until he announced a different intention on arriving on the ground, it would have succeeded. It was fortunate the attack failed. It kept the garrisons of the batteries in their places and increased the number of prisoners. Shields behaved most gallantly in his advance to the Jalapa road, and was severely — supposed at the time mortally — wounded by a grapeshot that passed through his body. His advance captured Santa Anna's carriage. Worth's division was not engaged, acting simply as a reserve.

The storming of the Cerro Gordo was one of the most brilliant things on record. Whilst it was in progress, four thousand of the enemy were put in motion to turn their flanks, but the Cerro Gordo falling into our hands before they became engaged, they took ignominiously to flight. So certain was Harney that such would be the effect, when two thousand troops were reported to him as threatening each flank, he simply gave the order to extend to the right and left, and kept pushing up, and after a sharp conflict drove the enemy from the breastworks and down the hill.

The retreat of the enemy was a perfect rout. A portion in small bodies retreated on the Jalapa road. Many troops fled to the chapparal, making their escape through almost impracticable paths. Santa Anna himself made his escape with a few attendants across the river and at the ford, whose existence was not verified till after the battle in consequence of the serious injury that occurred to me, preventing my extending the reconnoissance as I contemplated. Ampudia with a few officers retreated on the Jalapa road, and very nearly fell into our hands.

Twiggs's division was pushed forward hotly in pursuit, and encamped at Encerro, fourteen miles distant, the night of the battle, and reached Jalapa the next day. He was closely followed by the volunteer division, General Patterson assuming command of the whole.

Worth returned to camp with the general and his staff.

I was on my back a portion of the day, and was just able to drag about camp.

CAMP NEAR CERRO GORDO, Sunday,
April 15, 1847, 5 P. M.

MY DEAREST WIFE, — I have glorious news to tell you. This day we had a hard-fought battle at this place, the first great mountain pass on the highway from Vera Cruz to Mexico. The result is a most decisive victory, resulting in the capture of six thousand Mexicans, and the loss on our part of about three hundred killed and wounded. General Twiggs is now in hot pursuit of Santa Anna, who was present in command, and his remnant of five or six thousand men. He will, we trust, enter Jalapa to-night, fifteen miles distant. His division of somewhat less than three thousand men did the hard work, and will of course have the highest award of praise.

As for your poor husband, his was the part to stay in camp. Two days since I conducted a reconnoissance on the left of the enemy's line over very difficult ground, with fifty dragoons to support me. I rode hard through the morning, and about three in the afternoon an old rupture in the groin, which troubled me when a boy from ten to fourteen years of age, broke out again after a perfect cure of fifteen years. So excruciating was the pain that it required the greatest exertion to get to camp, four miles distant, on my horse. Fortunately one of the best physicians in the army, Dr. Tripler, was able to attend upon me, and most fortunate of all he had a solitary truss of the best workmanship, which just fitted me. Dr. Tripler has prescribed the utmost quietude, has forbidden all excitement, and especially all riding on horseback. I had already received the appointment of adjutant of engineers, and my staff duties I can still attend to. All my friends express great sympathy for my misfortune. General Scott expressed himself in terms that won my heart. He remarked, "You engineers are too daring. You require to be held back. My young friend, I almost cried when I heard of your mishap." I have made a great many friends since I joined the army. It may be well that I have received this check. Ever since I joined the army, I have been too impetuous, too headstrong. I have made great physical exertion. Now I am obliged to rein in the power of muscles, in which I do not excell, and have equal opportunities to develop the mental as before I became incapacitated. I shall have charge of the train of the engineers, which is carried in quite a number of wagons, and shall therefore be always able to ride in a wagon. My horse is one of the finest animals in the army, and is a most fast, easy, and beautiful walker, and he will therefore be no impediment to my riding on horseback.

All my friends of the engineers did well. Captain Lee has won golden opinions. Mason is rising rapidly in the esteem of all. He is one of the most disinterested as well as one of the most talented men in the army. If I have a perfectly devoted friend in the whole army, it is Mason. He makes no professions; he is always true to himself and his views of right, but I have his friendship and he has mine. My old chum Tower did splendidly. He is a man of great powers of mind and determined energy of character. He will probably be brevetted for his services at this place and at Vera Cruz.

To-morrow the whole army resumes its onward march. In one day we shall enter Jalapa. General Scott is winning golden opinions. He is prodigiously popular with the volunteers, and the whole army has confidence in him. During the whole continuance of the battle to-day he was much exposed.

The movement which resulted in the great victory of to-day was to the right and rear of the enemy, and the success of it hinged on the taking of a little work on the top of an almost inaccessible hill. The famous Colonel Harney of the dragoons led the forlorn hope in the attack of this position, and was closely followed by the 3d and 7th infantry. Up rushed our troops, amidst the most deafening cheers from the whole line. Steadily advanced the stars and stripes to the very Mexican standard floating from the Mexican work. For one moment in the most difficult point our flag disappeared; again it rose, and was immediately planted in triumph on the top of the hill. In four weeks we shall most certainly be in the City of Mexico, unless previously the Mexicans make overtures of peace.

My dear wife, do not feel anxious for me. I have the means, and shall take care of my health. My hopes of distinction have in a measure vanished, but still I have the satisfaction that I can be highly useful. My general health is very good. Remember me to Mary and my dear children, to Judge Peabody, and all my friends.

Your affectionate husband,

Isaac.

CHAPTER IX

JALAPA. — PUEBLA

MONDAY, April 19. This was a lazy day in camp, the general and his staff being occupied with the charge of the prisoners, and preparing the proper dispatches. It was determined to release all the prisoners and officers on parole. Thus 2700 men (and 200 having escaped the previous day whilst coming into camp, and before they had reached the charge of General Worth) were sent, with rations to subsist them on their way home, to and beyond Jalapa. La Vega, one of the prisoners, announced his intention not to accept his parole, but to go to the United States. The surgeons, moreover, were most actively engaged in caring for the wounded. The wounds of the men generally were slight, and all the disabled were cheerful and in high spirits. The wounds of the Mexicans were bad, and many of their dead were shot in the head. General Shields, to the surprise of all, still survived, was in excellent spirits, and did not doubt that he would get well.

At half past one the general-in-chief and his staff, with an escort of dragoons, started for Jalapa, and passed the night at Encerro, the residence of Santa Anna. Worth, who marched from the Plano del Rio in the morning, reached Jalapa the same night. On the road I saw several dead, disfigured with horrible wounds. I was obliged to ride in a wagon, the surgeon having forbidden my riding on horseback. The country seat of Santa Anna is delightfully situated in the midst of a rolling country, abounding in herds of cattle, and all the fruits of both tropics. His house is of two stories, the first being appropriated to kitchens, store-rooms, etc., and the second to the family. Several rooms were well furnished, and were garnished with paintings on historical subjects, for the most part Mexican and Spanish. We saw several of his wooden legs.

Tuesday, April 20. The general and staff reached Jalapa about eleven A. M., after a most beautiful ride of eight miles. Along the road were to be observed the Mexican troops in little groups of two or three, accompanied by their women, of whom there were many at their camp at the Cerro Gordo. I ventured to try my horse, and found for the time being less inconvenience than in the wagon. The appearance of the country, rolling and green, was very inviting. As we approached the city, the rear of Worth's wagons was in the road, the men and mules almost entirely exhausted by the long march of yesterday. Major Smith, in consequence of injuries resulting from riding on horseback, was obliged to ride, and accompanied Major Sumner (wounded in the conflict of the 17th inst.) in the carriage of Santa Anna. On reaching the city I had the pleasure of meeting Captain Lee, Lieutenant Beauregard, and Lieutenants Smith and McClellan of the engineer company, who were in the advance with Twiggs. Quarters were assigned Major Smith and myself in the governor's house, the headquarters of General Scott.

The same afternoon General Worth was pushed forward in the advance, Captain Lee, Lieutenants Mason and Tower, and the engineer company accompanying him. It was reported that La Hoya and Perote had been abandoned, and that a body of three or four thousand lancers was on the route to Puebla.

Wednesday, April 21. I was busily engaged to-day in organizing the train of the engineer company, the mules having proved very poor on the route from Plano del Rio, and many of the animals being entirely unserviceable. On requisition from the senior engineer, the general directed that a train of eight wagons should be furnished by the quartermaster at Vera Cruz to bring up the engineer train that remained, and as many of the engineer implements as practicable. Lieutenant Foster, in the afternoon, with the engineer train that had come up from the Plano del Rio, started to join his company at Perote. Sapper Noyes went to Vera Cruz in the train of Friday morning to point out to the quartermaster the articles that were needed.

Thursday to Saturday, April 22–24. Nothing especial occurred on these days. I have been principally engaged whilst at my leisure in going about the town, observing the people and their customs.

Sunday, April 25. This day I attended high mass in the cathedral. The church was decorated considerably, though with little taste. There were several figures of the Virgin Mary. The people seemed attentive to the various ceremonies, and were scrupulous in observing the prescribed forms. Not many of the higher classes were present. Some few elegant and well-dressed ladies were to be seen.

Monday to Thursday, April 26–29. During these days I have been collecting facts in relation to the battle of Cerro Gordo, with the view of making a general map and digesting a connected military narrative. In consequence of all the officers, except Lieutenant Beauregard and myself, having gone to Perote, there were no means of making an accurate survey of the positions, or of getting sketches of the various reconnoissances, to form a general plan. The only sketch forwarded from Perote was one by Lieutenant Tower. I have met during these days several old friends, particularly Tilden and Haskin. Canby I have seen much of.

April 30. This day I was busily occupied in preparing a memoir on the proper mode of conducting the war, in case Mexico shall pursue the guerrilla system, and obstinately refuse to listen to terms of accommodation. I find great difficulty in procuring information as to routes, etc. The weather in Jalapa is delightful. For the past four days copious showers towards evening have exercised the most healthful and invigorating influence upon the troops here. Since the arrival of headquarters on Tuesday, April 20, there has been a remarkable equableness of temperature. Jalapa is the very Eden of Mexico, and its picturesque situation in the very bosom of the mountains is nowhere surpassed. Such is the perfect amenity and smiling aspect of nature at this favored spot, that all the seasons of the year meet together. All the days of the year are both seedtime and harvest. The place is singularly beautiful in its perennial bloom, and in the flowers and gardens of its people. They seem to be a happy, easy race, and many of the people are of refinement and intelligence.

There are indications in the suburbs of Jalapa of more populousness and wealth than now obtain, as in the wells of masonry to be seen, fifty feet and more in depth, etc. The snowy peak of Orizaba, fifteen thousand feet above the sea, is to be seen far above the clouds, which at times hang over its base.

JALAPA, Thursday, April 22, 1847.

MY DEAREST WIFE, — We entered this beautiful city, fragrant with flowers and shrubbery, at eleven o'clock Tuesday morning. Jalapa and the surrounding country is the Eden of Mexico. For many miles the country is in the highest state of cultivation. There is a perennial bloom. At this very moment all the fruits and every species of vegetation are to be seen in all their stages. On the same tree are seen blossoms and fruit.

In the same field we observe grain and corn just springing from the seed, and we see it ready for the sickle. The market abounds in oranges, bananas, peppers, lettuce, cabbages, cauliflower, onions, lemons, peas (green), beans, tomatoes, etc. The refinement and cultivation of the people are to be seen in their taste for flowers. At all points the most beautiful flowers strike your eye. All the houses of the lower classes, as well as of the higher, have gardens of flowers in rear. As you pass through the street you every moment get glimpses of fountains and shrubbery. Jalapa is more than Capua of old. It is Capua with all its beauty and serenity, but without its *abandon.* The people are refined, courteous, intelligent, and upright. Here we shall remain for some ten days or a fortnight, to organize the campaign, and prepare for the march to Mexico. Jalapa will be the great base of operations.

We left the Plano del Rio on Monday. I rode on a wagon, and reached Encerro, the hacienda of Santa Anna, a distance of fourteen miles, the same evening. The general and his staff passed the night here. It is beautifully situated on a commanding hill, with ample outbuildings, an artificial pond for bathing, etc., and a paved road branching from the main Jalapa road. The hacienda of two stories was elegantly furnished on the second floor, the first floor being appropriated to kitchens, store-rooms, etc. We saw several of Santa Anna's wooden legs. General Scott gave us in the evening a nice supper with wine.

I rode on Tuesday from Encerro to Jalapa on my horse, and found it about as comfortable as a wagon. The distance was about eight miles. The morning was beautiful and the scenery enchanting. On reaching the city we found some seven or eight thousand of our troops under arms. For the first time since Cortez the hostile feet of a foreign race trod its pavements. The most perfect tranquillity prevailed. The people are well treated, receive good prices for all they wish to sell, and do not feel the weight of a foreign yoke.

Last evening we received intelligence that General Taylor entered the city of San Luis Potosi on the 13th of this month. Well done, indomitable old hero! It is somewhat doubtful whether I shall go on with the army. The surgeon advises me to remain here for the present. With care he thinks I may rely on a permanent cure. Care, however, is required.

JALAPA, May 1, 1847.

MY DEAREST WIFE, — I am glad to be able to assure you that my health is improving. It is not yet safe for me to ride my horse, and I think that my ride from Encerro, the country seat of Santa Anna, to Jalapa put me back some days. I can walk without any inconvenience by being careful as to my gait, and avoiding all sudden steps. I am not in the least incapacitated for office duty, and am, excepting my injury, in very vigorous health. It is hard, I assure you, in this beautiful region to be detained from enjoying my fine horse. As it is, he stands in the stable doing nothing. On Monday, May 3, I shall move on with General Patterson's advance, in charge of the engineer train, to join the engineer corps with Worth.

The brilliant conflict of Cerro Gordo came upon the Mexicans like a thunderbolt, and is the most decisive blow of the war. The road is free to the City of Mexico, and I have no doubt General Scott will be there in six weeks. It is said the Mexicans will resort to the guerrilla mode of warfare. It will be found worse than useless. It will be found of assistance to our arms. General Scott will enforce the strictest discipline, and the people of the country will remain undisturbed in their houses. A fair price will be paid for everything that is consumed. The war will be made to bear with a heavy hand upon all connected with the government, and upon the property of all disaffected persons. Don't feel alarmed about the observation in the papers in reference to the terrible and atrocious character of guerrilla warfare. No one here feels the least alarm. Twelve resolute men can disperse a hundred rancheros. As guerrilla troops our volunteers are infinitely superior to the Mexicans. The Mexicans as guerrilla troops are poor. They are generally very inferior troops. They are best behind breastworks, yet our men find no difficulty in storming them.

You may be sure that this city is a most charming place. We do not find the upper classes disposed to associate with us. Jalapa is said to be one of the most exclusive places in Mexico, the society being broken up into cliques, and families living among themselves as in New Bedford. The upper classes are indeed said to be very hostile to us. We are now about building a battery to overawe the city, where a ten-inch mortar will be mounted. The terrible destruction at Vera Cruz from our shells has been spread over all Mexico, and with all the exaggeration of the Spanish character. All the cities have the greatest fear of our shells.

The last few days I have been busily occupied in preparing a narrative of the brilliant conflict of the Cerro Gordo, illustrated with a sketch, and for the Engineer Department at Washington, and also in writing a memoir on the best mode of opposing the guerrilla warfare. The latter I have done chiefly for my own instruction. It is possible, if I can finish it to my mind, I may have it published. I have some thoughts of sending it to General Scott at once. The general, however, is a very great talker and writer himself, and I doubt whether he could find time to read the memoir.

Sunday, May 2. The train does not go till to-morrow, so I can tell you something of the occurrences of this day. Sunday is the great market day of Jalapa, and this morning I saw the greatest profusion of vegetables, watermelons in abundance, the finest oranges, bananas, plantains, cauliflower, cabbage, lettuce, celery, beans, peas, squashes, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, green corn, rare-ripe onions, tomatoes. The onions are the finest I ever saw. They are far superior to our own. Many well-dressed ladies were to be seen in the market with their servants. I went to the cathedral, but remained only a short time.

I consulted to-day Dr. Wright, the hospital surgeon of Jalapa, in reference to my difficulty, and he speaks in the most encouraging manner. He says there is no objection to my riding a portion of the distance on horseback, and that with care there is not the least danger in advancing with the army.

May 3. In the expectation that the march would take place to-morrow, I was busily engaged preparing for my departure. The sappers remaining in this place made all their arrangements, and the engineer train of eight wagons was put in perfect order, a wagon master and two extra men having been provided for. General Patterson's advance brigade, that would serve as our escort, was the brigade of Quitman. In the evening, about eight o'clock, an express came up from Vera Cruz.

May 4. I rose early, having decided to start at half past six o'clock. Some delays occurred, and when in readiness to start, at half past seven, I was informed that the order to march had been countermanded. Consequently everything was put back in its place.

About eleven A. M. Carigan, a sick sapper, died at the hospital. He had been sick almost from the first day he came into the country. His case was not considered incurable at Vera Cruz, but the journey to Jalapa, riding in a wagon over a rough road, proved too much for his strength. He was buried in the afternoon in a convent churchyard, his remains having been accompanied by myself and five sappers. When his body was lowered into its final resting-place, I made a few remarks on the peculiar circumstances of his case, dwelling upon the fact that his short service had not been in vain, and that he had served his country, and as much died for his country as though he had fallen at Vera Cruz or at Cerro Gordo. Sergeant Clark and A. M. Noyes, on my calling on them, made a few very appropriate remarks in reference to his case, and bore cheerful testimony to his excellent character and the esteem in which he was held by his associates. Regan, a sapper who had enlisted with him, and who had known him for a long time, was a most sincere mourner. He seemed to reproach himself as the cause of Carigan's death, in consequence of his own example having been the cause of Carigan's enlistment. I stated to Regan that he had no cause to reproach himself, and that in writing to Carigan's friends he could dwell upon the circumstances of Carigan's having received every attention, and finally having been buried in one of the most beautiful regions of the earth, and in ground consecrated by the religious solemnities of his faith.

May 5. There are reports that Santa Anna intends cutting off the large train coming from Vera Cruz in a few days, in consequence of which Captain Bainbridge with a battalion of infantry proceeded downward yesterday, to be followed by Colonel Riley and a portion of his brigade to-morrow, the whole to take a position at the National Bridge. I now hold myself in readiness to move forward at any moment. But in the present aspect of affairs, three regiments of volunteers returning home, much sickness amongst the troops, and no certainty as to the arrival of new levies, it is not certain that it will be possible to move beyond Puebla.

May 7. Left Jalapa this morning at 7.30 in charge of the second section of the engineer train, to join the advance of General Worth, and under the escort of General Quitman's brigade, to whom I reported on my arrival at his encampment. He did not get under way till towards noon, and, after marching two hours through a cultivated and beautiful country, we reached the village of El Soldado, about eight miles from Jalapa. After halting an hour at this place the command pursued its march through a most picturesque and beautiful country, presenting at the different points a varied view of the valley, dotted all over with villages, and with fields of corn and barley, and parties of laborers by the roadside peacefully pursuing the cultivation of the soil. At La Hoya, defended with some care at a pass between two high hills, with a succession of barriers in the road, two arranged with a single embrasure for guns, was to be seen the apple-tree in blossom, and also the pine-tree. We halted at Las Vegas for the night, the road hither ascending all the way, and the character of the trees rapidly changing to the fir, the black birch, and the mountain oak. Las Vegas is a somewhat straggling village of perhaps about two thousand people, situated in a depression or valley in the hills, which to the northeast expand into a most fertile and agreeable plain, highly cultivated along the west side. Most inviting fields of barley and corn had remained untouched, though the horses of our troops had subsisted on the former. Jalapa to El Soldado, seven miles; to La Hoya, three miles (large); to tank on left, nine miles; to Las Vegas, three miles; Jalapa to Las Vegas, twenty-two miles.

May 8. Left Las Vegas about eight A. M. and reached Perote about twelve M., a distance of ten miles, or about. This route for the first three miles is quite rough and uneven. At the end of the third mile is a very long and difficult descent, at the foot of which is a beautiful stream of ice-cold water, flowing directly from the Coffre de Perote. Here the whole command were refreshed. After ascending a considerable hill we again, after a gentle descent, gained a little village at another, quite sluggish stream about a mile from the Rio Frio. A slight ascent brought us to the extended plain of Perote, ten or twelve miles in width and extending generally in a westerly direction as far as El Pinal. Perote, with its castle in the middle of the plain and towards its eastern extremity, was almost depopulated, and presented a very uninviting appearance. General Worth had collected here large stores of forage and flour, much rice, and some sugar and coffee. On reporting to General Worth, and stating my object (to join Captain Lee), I was directed to attach myself to Colonel Clarke's brigade, the last battalion of which was to march at seven A. M. on the 9th. I found Mason quite sick, and doubtful as to his ability to move on. Though somewhat fatigued with my day's march, I suffered no inconvenience from my rupture, though the entire distance from Jalapa was made on horseback.

May 9. I left Perote this morning with Colonel Clarke at seven A. M., and arrived at San Antonio, a distance of seven miles, about eleven. A slight halt was made three miles from Perote. At one o'clock, after resting the mules, I proceeded with the train to Tepe Ahualco, which I reached after a distance of nine miles. Here I found the engineer company, and Captain Lee and Lieutenant Tower of the engineers. Captain Lee, unfortunately, was suffering from chills and fever.

May 10. The brigade of Colonel Garland, with General Worth and staff, left Tepe Ahualco (a very mean village, with bad water) at eight o'clock, and after a march of ten miles through the plain reached the hacienda of Vireyes, where we encamped for the night. This hacienda, like most of the haciendas of the country, was a good substantial building on the four sides of a square, and arranged with reference to the defense of the interior space. The peons lived in mean habitations of mud and trellis-work, not equal to the dwellings of swine in New England.

May 11. The march commenced at seven A. M., and after two halts, — one of about half an hour at Byzantium, distant eight miles, a village having its cathedral, one or two stores with pulque for sale, and pretty good houses for the peons; one of about two hours at Ojo de Agua, distant ten miles, a village not so considerable as the former, but noted for its clear water gushing in quite a large stream from the roadside, — we reached the hacienda Santa Annaced as a violent windstorm came on. Large stacks of barley straw in front of the hacienda afforded sustenance for many domestic animals. As we approached the village of Byzantium, a gently ascending and somewhat considerable hill on the left, cultivated to its very top with the maguey plant, and the green grass of the flowing stream at the base relieved the dryness of the plain, and afforded a most pleasing prospect. The road on the 10th and 11th was level, and for the most part good. Distance this day, about twelve miles.

May 12. The march commenced at six A. M., the rear brigade of Colonel Clarke joining the advance brigade of Colonel Garland in its first movement, its encampment having been only two miles in rear. After proceeding some miles we entered Nopalucan, a considerable town of three churches, several fondas, and some substantial houses. The padre furnished the general and his officers an entertainment of spirits and cakes. The best people had shut up their houses and left the place. Before approaching Nopalucan, the road for some two miles passes through a highly cultivated tract of country, with some dozen haciendas on the right and left. An elevation on entering this tract affords a very charming prospect.

After remaining two hours at Nopalucan the division moved forward, over in some portions a rough road, and encamped for the night one league this side of the Pass of El Pinal.

May 13. At Nopalucan information was given that Santa Anna, with some fifteen hundred or two thousand lancers, had passed through that place on the 10th for Puebla, and at the camp of the 12th and 13th there were rumors that he had prepared mines in the road at El Pinal. In consequence the engineer company, Duncan's battery, and some other troops moved early to examine the pass. A false alarm during the night left many of the troops much harassed. El Pinal is no pass whatever, and the mines, of which rumor was so big, were little excavations commenced under the road in two places, but abandoned. El Pinal derives its name from the pine-trees, which are found to the very top of the mountains. At this point the road commences a rapid descent, and soon brings us to Acajete, a smaller place than Nopalucan, yet having its church and its fonda. Here the alcalde provided a collation for the general and his officers. After halting an hour and a half, we moved forward, and reached Amasoque about two o'clock. This is a village having a large public square and three fine churches. It is larger than Nopalucan, and must contain nearly four thousand inhabitants.

It was determined to remain at Amasoque one entire day to enable General Quitman's command to come up, and accordingly General Worth's division was in expectation of a day's rest, but about nine o'clock,

May 14, word was brought that five thousand lancers were marching down upon us. A reconnoissance by Captain Lee reduced the numbers to less than two thousand, and the movement seemed to look to the cutting of our communication with Quitman's column. It was so illy concerted that seventy shots from Duncan's battery and a few from Steptoe's turned the enemy from their apparent purpose, and caused them to turn to their left and make good their retreat. A column of about six hundred, however, continued their course, veering a little to the left to keep out of the reach of Quitman, who, on hearing our guns, hastened the march of his troops, and effected a junction with Worth with great celerity. This column was followed by myself, Lieutenant McClellan, and three dragoons as far as the hacienda San Miguel, some five miles from Amasoque. On the way thither we crossed a very deep arroyo, along a very good though very steep mule-path. At the hacienda, having ascertained from the people and from their trail that the column had continued their eccentric course, we returned in a somewhat different direction, and having crossed an arroyo by an almost impracticable path, and fallen on and nearly captured a Mexican officer and his servant, we came to where the arroyos met, and were obliged to retrace our steps. We reached headquarters about three o'clock. I was exceedingly exhausted by my exertions. Lieutenant McClellan was very gallant and prompt in pursuing the Mexican, and lost him in consequence of the chapparal. A pony that was led by the servant was given to the men.

Note. The occurrences of this day show two things: 1st. Troops should be quartered or encamped in reference to the attack of an enemy, and the site should always be determined by officers of engineers.

2d. On the arrival of troops at the place of encampment, an examination should be made to determine the principal circumstances in reference to the roads and the general features of the topography of the country, so that, in case of an attack or demonstration, we should have the necessary information to strike a vigorous blow at the enemy, and push him into a precipitate retreat. At Amasoque nothing was known in the morning in reference to the roads of the village itself leading to the direction where the enemy was known to be, until the reconnoissance was made after the presence of the enemy was reported. Still less was anything known in regard to the existence of the arroyos, which cut up the surface of the plain, and rendered it entirely impracticable for cavalry and artillery to operate,.till the crossings (used by the people of the country and known by their troops) were carefully ascertained. During the whole march from Tepe Ahualco, these things had been entirely *neglected.*

Captain Lee and Lieutenant Tower made a reconnoissance of the country towards Puebla, and discovered that the main body of the enemy had retrograded to a village some eight miles from and off the main road to Puebla. Colonel Garland's brigade was pushed forward about two miles and bivouacked for the night. The troops were ordered to march, first at nine P. M., then at three A. M., and finally at five A. M., in order to concentrate near Puebla in the course of the morning. In consequence of these continual changes, the troops were exceedingly and needlessly harassed.

May 15. The army moved at five A. M., and at a village three miles from Amasoque, commissioners were found in waiting to treat for the occupation of the city. The assurances of the general were satisfactory to them. They were simply a recognition that Puebla should be no exception to the general course our army has pursued in this country as regards the inviolability of the rights, persons, religion, and authority of the city, so far as not incompatible with its military occupation. The troops in the course of the day were all got into quarters, although it was accomplished in a very undignified manner, the general, at the head of his staff, personally superintending the breaking open of the doors of the barracks whenever they were not opened by the keys in season to satisfy his impatient spirit.

May 16–22. The army continued in the peaceful occupation of Puebla, and nothing occurred to disturb the general tranquillity except two or three cases of broils, occasioned by the imprudence of our own people, and one report of the march of Santa Anna to attack the city. Some changes were made in the distribution of troops, much attention paid to the rumors of the streets, and no general system of measures adopted in relation to the defenses of the city, or to the dispositions to be made in case of the attack of an enemy. The people were decidedly hostile to Santa Anna, and our respect for their rights was making a decided change in our favor. On the 20th and 21st the city was rife with rumors of the approach of General Taylor to San Luis Potosi, and at length it was said that General Taylor had been taken prisoner and hanged. Information came on the 21st that General Scott was still at Jalapa, and would not leave till the 23d.

May 23, 24. Affairs continue tranquil. Information has come that General Twiggs left Jalapa Saturday, May 22, and was followed by General Scott on Sunday. My own health is improving very rapidly, and on the 24th I reported to Captain Lee my readiness for duty.

May 25. Engaged on a reconnoissance of the road to Tlascala. There are two roads, one for carriages and one for mules, which continue separate the whole distance to Tlascala. This reconnoissance occupied seven hours, and was supported by twelve sappers.

May 26. Accompanied Captain Lee and Lieutenants Mason and Tower in an examination of the hill and the adjacent parts of the city, to determine a position for our troops in case of the attack of the enemy. The occupation of the hill, the Cuartel San José, and some buildings on the right and left, fulfilled the conditions quite well. It commanded the city, and the approaches to it in the direction of the hill afforded room for stores, wagons, and animals. This examination was suggested to General Worth by Captain Lee on the first occupation of the city, but was deferred in consequence of press of business, and was ordered to-day in consequence of a report that a strong force of the enemy was marching upon the city from Mexico.

May 27. A fatigue party with some sappers, and all under the direction of Lieutenant Smith, were employed to-day in repairing the parapet of Fort Guadalupe, on the summit of the hill. The engineer officers were engaged generally in examining roads entering the city, and plotting the same.

May 28. General Scott and staff arrived to-day. Engineers employed as yesterday.

May 29. General Twiggs arrived with his division to-day at three P. M., and at one o'clock the long roll beat in consequence of a report of the approach of the enemy, twenty thousand strong. This proved to be unfounded.

May 30, 31. The only occurrence of interest is Santa Anna's solemn renunciation of power, and return to private life. He declares in his manifest that he has labored with a single eye to the good of his country, and can review with satisfaction and without reproach his whole public career. I cannot but entertain the opinion that Santa Anna's renouncing all authority is in consequence of a fixed determination on his part to be "Aut Cæsar aut nihil." It may be the deliberate act of a great statesman and patriot, more firmly to maintain the authority necessary to save his country. He may act from the conviction that his country, seeing that he would not continue in authority in this crisis unless he were cordially supported by all parties, would with one voice recall him to public life and invest him with full powers. So far as I am able to judge, Santa Anna's career, since his return to Mexico, has been most glorious and remarkable. Without resources, and in the midst of internal discord, he has organized two large armies, and made one of the most extraordinary marches in all history. He has been defeated, but throughout has shown an admirable constancy, and exhibited high military qualities. In strategic operations he has shown marked ability. At Buena Vista he came within an ace of utterly defeating General Taylor, and had he succeeded (and the probabilities were in his favor), he would have been able to excite to the highest pitch of enthusiasm the whole nation. A large army might have been raised, and our advance into the interior effectually checked. On the field of battle he has not proved equal to us. But it is probably due to the nature of his troops, who in the shock of the conflict are inferior to us, three or four to one. At Angostura, and at the Cerro Gordo, he exhibited courage and an indefatigable spirit. He did not leave the height of the Cerro Gordo till the very moment of its falling into our hands, and he was obliged to make his escape on one of the wheel mules of his carriage. Nor were his spirits depressed by this overwhelming defeat. He immediately rallied his troops at Orizaba, a strategic position in reference to the whole route of Jalapa from Vera Cruz to Puebla. Here he was able to threaten our lines of communication, and, without moving a step, he compelled us to protect our trains with large escorts as they came up from Vera Cruz to Jalapa. When nearly a whole brigade (Riley's) was sent down to protect the large train supposed to be the last of five hundred wagons, and it became evident that nothing more would be gained in this direction, he anticipated our advance, and threw himself between us and the City of Mexico. He has now renounced all authority. We must wait until his real object in taking this great step shall have become developed.

June 3. We have rumors to-day that a reinforcement of 3000 men has landed at Antigua, and is on the march to Jalapa. It has been determined to break up Jalapa, place the sick in hospital in Perote, and bring up the whole disposable force to Puebla. At Perote and Jalapa are 800 sick and 1700 men in garrison. Leaving a garrison of 400 men in Perote, the remaining 1300 men, with 900 recruits, will increase the troops now at Puebla, 6000 effectives including officers (there are 700 sick), to 8200; of the 900 recruits, at least 200 will be left behind sick. So that 8000 men will be the extent of our force. We shall probably remain in Puebla till about the 1st of July, and then advance to the city with our whole force.

I write this evening to my wife by a train going down to-morrow. It is doubtful whether the letter will reach the States.

This is Corpus Christi Day. I attended church in the morning, and was anything but pleased with the idle ceremonies of the occasion. The Catholicism of this country is a great corruption of that of the United States. It is chiefly a religion of observances, and of the most burdensome and elaborate kind. Excepting human sacrifices, it is on a par with the religion of the Aztecs.

A bull-fight having been advertised, I attended it with many other officers, but the performance was a very tame one. The bulls were barbarously butchered after having been lassoed and thrown down. Every one returned home disgusted.

June 4. The news from Mexico to-day is less favorable to peace. The congress, it is said, has refused to accept the resignation of Santa Anna, and the latter has left Mexico to take command of the troops. The landing of Cadwallader with three thousand troops has been confirmed. Half a million of money is also on its way. Everything bears a favorable aspect now. The arrival of funds is of great consequence, in order that no necessity may arise to live by forced contributions. We ought to apply to the support of the war the revenues that formerly went to the central government, but in our dealings with individuals scrupulously to pay for every supply and service. To-day I was employed on the journal of last month. The officers were generally employed on the drawings.

June 6. A mail arrived to-day with cheering news from the States. The government was exerting its energies to increase both columns of invasion, and, from the success which had already attended the recruiting service, there was little doubt that in the course of the season there would be thirty thousand troops in the field. Six regiments of volunteers for the war were also to be called out.

June 7–21. The army has continued recruiting its strength and awaiting reinforcements. Daily drills in companies, battalions, brigades, and divisions have tended to give tone and efficiency to the command, though a counteracting influence has been found in the troops not being paid. Great discontent exists in consequence of this. Many of the troops are quartered in damp basements, and all live on fresh provisions, prolific causes of disease. The sickness has been as high as twenty-five per cent. of the whole number present, and even at this time is not much below this. In some regiments the company officers do not attend to their men, and particularly to their food. The use of the chili, or Mexican pepper, supplies the place of salt, and contributes essentially to the health of the troops.

There have been occasional rumors of rising in the city, to be assisted by guerrillas. A small force is with the governor at Athsio, and all the roads are infested to some extent by this description of troops. There have been several attempts to induce our men to desert, and now a German is being tried for the offense, and will probably be put to death.

The engineers have been employed in drawing a map of the city and its environs, completing the drawings of the siege of Vera Cruz, and collecting information in relation to the roads and localities in the valley of Mexico.

The general-in-chief reached Puebla on the 28th, and on the following day all the engineer officers and the engineer company were relieved from duty with particular divisions, and placed under the direction of the senior engineer at general headquarters. General Twiggs arrived with his division on the 29th of June.

Information was derived from Americans, residents of the City of Mexico, who joined the army as it penetrated into the country, and from Mexicans (robbers and contrabandists), etc. In consequence of these inquiries, Captain Lee was enabled to prepare a map of all the routes from Puebla to the City of Mexico and in its valley, and exhibiting generally the topography of the country, its hills, rivers, marshes, etc. Much information was also obtained in reference to the fixed means of defense of the enemy,—particularly the position and character of field-works and batteries, and the character of the obstructions from cuts in the causeways of approach to the city, and from inundations from the lakes. In the investigation of this matter, one circumstance transpired affording convincing proof that no difficulty would be found to bribe men of rank and influence. A merchant of Puebla, of some wealth, extensive connection, and large practical knowledge of localities in all parts of Mexico, for the sum of five thousand dollars proposed going to the City of Mexico and procuring accurate information in reference to the roads and localities in the valley of Mexico, the fixed means of defense of the enemy, the force, composition, distribution, and *morale* of the troops, the state of public feeling in the city, etc. He professed a sufficient acquaintance with military matters to furnish the information with entire fullness and accuracy. Nor did he ask the least compensation for his services till the information furnished should be pronounced perfectly satisfactory. This proposition was finally declined by General Scott.

It having been ascertained that Dominguez, the chief of the robbers from Vera Cruz to Mexico and a resident of Puebla, was willing to enter into the American service with at least a portion of the robbers, Major Smith proposed to the general-in-chief that they should be received, and employed as spies, guides, and couriers. This suggestion met with his approbation, and the inspector-general, Colonel Hitchcock, was associated with Major

Smith in arranging a proper organization. Thus far the robbers have proved useful as spies and couriers.

General Cadwallader is known to be on his way from Perote, and will probably reach Puebla with his command to-day or to-morrow. It is to be feared that the large number of sick will render it necessary to leave a garrison in Puebla, reducing, if the advance to Mexico obtain within ten days, the efficient fighting force to six thousand men.

June 22–24. Information reached General Scott on the evening of the 23d that General Cadwallader was at Perote, and that he would leave next day and reach Puebla on Monday, the 29th. He met with serious resistance between Jalapa and Perote, particularly at the Pass of La Hoya. The 24th was St. John's Day, and was celebrated generally throughout the city. Some patriotic feeling was exhibited in the military dresses and flags of the boys. The engineer company obtained authority to change their quarters to the convent San Antonio. The subject of an engineer drill was under discussion by Lieutenants Mason, Stevens, and G. W. Smith, and it was decided that the manual of the miner should be translated. On the 24th I submitted to Major Smith a brief memoir on a system of espionage, and involving the employment of the robbers of the country.

June 25–28. During these days information has reached headquarters of the landing of General Pillow at Vera Cruz, and of his order to General Cadwallader to await his arrival in Perote. The whole command, probably amounting to five thousand men, will arrive as early as the 5th of July.

Rumors for several days have been rife in Puebla of negotiations for a treaty of peace being commenced. Several messengers are known to have arrived from Mexico, and the Mexican president has been notified by

General Scott that a commissioner with powers to treat has arrived from the United States. I see no indication of the least disposition to treat on the part of the Mexican nation, and nothing can stay the advance of our army to the valley of Mexico. Even then, in consequence of the rainy season and the smallness of our force, we shall restrict ourselves to the narrowest limits; but a small portion of the heart of the country will feel our presence, and the spirit of the people will not be subdued. They will flatter themselves with the hope of soon driving from their capital and their soil the *infamous invader*. New armies will be raised, and we again in the fall obliged to take the field. North to Zacatecas let our arms extend!

July 1. The Mexican congress, agreeably to the proclamation of the president, assembled on the 28th of June, but, wanting five of a quorum, adjourned to the 5th of July, the special subject of their consideration being the appointing of commissioners to treat of peace. Pillow reached Perote yesterday (probably), and will probably be in Puebla on the 7th or 8th inst. It is also supposed that Pierce has arrived in Vera Cruz with additional troops. It is a doubtful matter whether the Mexican congress will take a decided course in initiating negotiations, or whether the commissioners whom they appoint will agree upon the terms. I have every confidence that General Scott, whilst showing every disposition to respond to any desire for peace which the Mexican nation may express, and exerting his whole strength to accomplish that great object, will not permit it to be made a pretext to gain time, and a cover to the complete organization of the enemy's force. The enemy may treat at this time. They stickle on points of honor, and will have the greatest repugnance to the occupation of their capital. They see our force daily increasing. They have felt our prowess at the Cerro Gordo. They know we desire peace. Our terms are not hard. If we advance and enter the City of Mexico, their government will be in a measure dissolved, and the favorable moment for negotiations have gone. All these considerations must incline the candid and intelligent portion of the nation to arrange all matters in dispute before we advance from Puebla. Yet the Castilian obstinacy and pride may overrule all these considerations, and determine them to try the issue of a protracted contest. It is possible they may consider our terms, if agreed to, as the step fatal and inevitable towards the final occupation of the whole country, and, considering the present conflict as one for national independence, they may conclude to fight as long as a man remains to bear arms. For one, I cannot but consider the issue doubtful, and am inclined to the belief that nothing will come from the present movement, and that we shall advance to and enter the City of Mexico.

July 4. The anniversary of our national independence has dawned upon the Americans in Puebla most auspiciously. News came last evening that General Pierce, with two thousand men, left Vera Cruz on June 28, and that in a week he would be followed by six thousand more troops. If this be true, we shall be able to launch a column of fifteen thousand men against the capital. It must fall into our hands with but little resistance. The rainy season should be devoted to the disciplining and reorganization of the whole army, new levies and old troops. Thus in October, based in the valley of Mexico, we shall be in condition to move in any direction, and doubtless, northward, our columns will march as far as Zacatecas, unless previously peace be agreed upon.

A war fever has broken out afresh in the capital, and energetic measures are being taken to add to their means of defense. Church bells are being cast into cannon, and field-works and fortifications put in good condition.

The engineer staff called on the general officers in the morning and dined together afterwards. We passed a pleasant day.

July 6. A courier came in this morning with information that El Pinal was occupied by a guerrilla force of one thousand men, and that the train had been at Ojo de Agua two days, resting from the fatigues of the march from Perote. The roads were bad, and many of the teams had given out. Colonel Harney, with a force of seven hundred men and a relief train of forty wagons, started at eight o'clock,

July 7, to disperse the assemblage at El Pinal, and meet the exposed train at Nopalucan. The troops still continue sick. About noon the arrival of General Pillow at Amasoque was announced; about five o'clock the dragoons arrived, bringing with them the long-expected mail.

July 8. The troops reached Puebla about noon to-day, and as they passed General Scott in review, they made a sorry appearance. In some respects composed of good material, they have come in all haste to the seat of war without a single day's drill, and after a march of one hundred and sixty-one miles it is not surprising they were much worn down. The day in the city was by all devoted to reading letters and papers. I had the extreme felicity of getting five letters from my dear wife, announcing her comfortable settlement for the season in Newport. In a distant land, the pleasure of receiving intelligence from our dear friends at home is above and beyond all other pleasures. My latest dates were to the 31st of May.

July 9. A general order of to-day assigned Pillow to the command of the third regular division, composed of Cadwallader's and Pierce's brigades, General Quitman continuing in command of the volunteer division till it shall become practicable to join his proper regular division with General Taylor. General Shields was assigned to the command of the volunteer brigade now in Puebla. We learned to-day that there was a movement to the north against Santa Anna in which eight states joined. The prospect of peace is very small.

July 10. News from Mexico more unfavorable to peace. Congress wants eleven of a quorum. There are now eighteen thousand troops in the valley of Mexico, provided with arms and sixty pieces of cannon. Four thousand troops from San Luis Potosi are said to be daily expected. All the causeways are armed with cannon, protected by field-works with wet ditches. Important advantages will result from deferring the advance to Mexico till the close of the rainy season. Time will be gained to put the new levies in shape, instructing both officers and men in their duty, and making them more reliable before an enemy. The large number of sick will be much reduced, and sickness will be prevented by the march in dry weather. Reinforcements will come up. The disposition of the Mexicans for peace will be thoroughly tested, and ulterior operations after conquering the city and valley can be arranged. The war can be vigorously pushed in the dry season, with ample supplies of transportation. The new levies are utterly unreliable, and the main dependence is in the old troops, scarcely six thousand effective men. Not the least doubt is felt at our ability at this time to enter the capital, and it is not to be disguised that every day's delay increases the strength of the enemy's force and affords the means to perfect his works. I believe, however, that our own strength will increase in a greater ratio. The dry season will give important advantages in our own counter-works, greater in proportion than in those possessed by the enemy. Our victory will also be more decisive, and will have greater results.

July 11, 12. The city has assumed its usual quietude, and it is to be hoped that effective measures will be at once taken to put the new levies in some state of efficiency. This morning (12th) a squadron of dragoons under the command of Captain Kearny set forth for Mexico with a flag in reference to an exchange of prisoners. A general order has just been published announcing an early and vigorous movement, directing reviews of the several divisions, and the utmost attention to tactical instruction, etc. It is understood the movement will commence on Tuesday, July 20.

July 18. It has been ascertained that Pierce will not reach Puebla until about the first of August (he left Vera Cruz July 15 or 16), and consequently the advance movement has been deferred. I trust it will be deferred till the rainy season is over, and that in the mean time a train will go down and bring up additional supplies. The flag which went out on the 12th returned on the 14th. Captain Kearny went as far as Rio Frio, and made the distance, about forty miles, in ten hours. The flag is understood to have had reference to an exchange of prisoners. No answer has yet been returned.

The review of the troops has been going on. General Twiggs has unquestionably the best division in the service.

In conformity with instructions from the general-in-chief, Major Smith made a report on the 13th in reference to the garrison and munitions to be left in Puebla on the advance of the army to Mexico, and the position to be occupied by the garrison. On the 15th authority was given by the general to enlarge the engineer train.

July 25. It is now considered hopeless to negotiate with the Mexican government until another blow is struck, and accordingly it has been intimated from headquarters that the advance division shall move as soon as the brigade of Pierce shall be within one day's march. As it is almost certain that Pierce has taken the Orizaba road, he cannot reach Puebla much before Thursday of next week, August 4, so that the advance cannot be made till about Wednesday, August 3.

During the past week the conversations of the streets in reference to the probabilities of peace or war have been constantly fluctuating from one extreme to the other. Taking counsel of their desires, people have eagerly caught at straws to convince themselves that peace was certain. At no time, judging from actual facts, has there been much probability that the difficulties between the two governments would be adjusted at this stage of the business.

The governing class of Mexico are easily elated; are characterized by remarkable tenacity of purpose and indomitable pride, which is not disposed to submit to humiliation; and they have at their head a fit representative in all respects, a man of extensive capacity both for peace and war, and who possesses in an eminent degree genius for command. In consequence of the long and necessary delay at Puebla, the enemy have been able to organize quite a formidable force in the City of Mexico, and to strengthen their position by batteries and artificial obstacles, till now, with the spirit of hopefulness so indigenous to the Spanish character, they believe themselves in condition successfully to oppose us.

August 1. Last evening a courier brought notes from General Pierce and Colonel Wyncoop of the 29th ult. The former was at La Hoya with two thousand men, and no enemy on the road. General Smith, July 28, with the 1st artillery, 3d infantry, rifle regiment of New York volunteers, and one squadron of dragoons, went down to meet him, and at the last accounts was at Ojo de Agua.

It is exceedingly difficult to push couriers through to Vera Cruz. They are sure to be searched, and shot if papers are found on them. Dispatches are made very short, on thin, small pieces of paper, and concealed in the garments of the couriers. It is believed that the enemy have relays of horses along the road from Vera Cruz to Mexico, and that intelligence is transmitted at the rate of six miles an hour. Every important transaction in Puebla is known at headquarters in the City of Mexico in ten to twelve hours. With our limited number of troops, it is impracticable to organize the line from Puebla to Vera Cruz so that our couriers could travel in safety with the same rapidity. Besides considerable garrisons in both Perote and Jalapa, there would have to be a strong force at Orizaba, and garrisons with stockade defenses on both the Orizaba and national roads every day's journey, say fifteen to twenty miles apart. I say it is impracticable so to organize our rear and have left a force adequate to the reduction of the City of Mexico. In my judgment it would be our true military policy immediately thus to organize our rear, and remain in Puebla till a well-disciplined army could be collected from the States.

On Thursday, July 29, a court of inquiry asked for by Colonel Riley commenced its sittings, Pillow, Quitman, and Colonel Clarke, members. That gallant veteran and most excellent officer, Colonel Riley, has demanded an inquiry into his operations at the Cerro Gordo, on the ground that the services of his brigade have not received justice at the hands of General Twiggs and the commander-in-chief in their official reports. Riley was a daring and successful officer of the last war, and has been in more battles and combats than any other officer in the army. Though advanced in years, he is intrepid, decided, and of sound judgment. I doubt not the court of inquiry will make a report that will soothe the injured feelings of the gallant and good old man.

PUEBLA, MEXICO, July 8, 1847.

MY DEAREST WIFE, — I feel and know that here I can do some service for my country. So long as my services shall be needed here, I would not feel at liberty to ask to go home. I fear that peace cannot be brought about till some great blow is struck, and another signal victory won. Such is the wretched misgovernment of this people, and so discordant are their public counsels, so corrupt and selfish their public men, that I sometimes fear that the strong arm of military power alone can pacificate the nation. No nation on the face of the earth is a stronger exemplification of the strong governing the weak. Wherever our army has gone, the people have been benefited. You can hardly realize how conciliatory has been the deportment of our people throughout. All along the road from Vera Cruz to Puebla, beautiful fields of corn and grain were left untouched, when our horses were suffering for food. Any aggression on the property of the people is promptly punished and redressed. The Mexican army ravage their own people, and leave a sad wreck behind them. We pay for everything, and protect the people in their rights. I believe the entrance of our army will give a fresh impulse to this people. They are now but half civilized, taking the whole population together. An impulse will be given to the arts of peace, and the nation will be wiser and better for our coming among them.

You may be sure that I take great satisfaction in your writing frequently to father. It will be a great comfort to him. I wish you so far as you can to occupy my place as regards my own relatives. Besides my father, Oliver, and Mary, I think many of them are much attached to me, and that they have a very high regard for you. I fear their expectations are much too high as to my prospects here. I aspire to no higher distinction than to do my entire duty. Our military establishment is so wretchedly organized that it is difficult for a man of acknowledged merit to rise. In organizing the ten new regiments very few promotions were made from the existing organizations, in consequence of which some of the ablest military men in our army see placed above them men totally devoid of capacity or zeal for the public service. One of the colonels of the new regiments is a dismissed cadet from West Point, and since I graduated. One of the majors of the volunteer regiments is a dismissed cadet of my own class, a very stupid and ignorant fellow. The men of capacity and of merit have this satisfaction: in difficult straits their counsels are sought and followed. The advice of lieutenants, even, is taken when that of general officers is disregarded.

Sunday, July 18. It is ten days since I wrote the above, nor is there much prospect that what has been written, and what I am writing now, will reach you for months. It is a great pleasure to write, and I know that whatever I write you will be glad to read. Pierce will not arrive in Puebla with his brigade before the 1st of August, nor can we advance to Mexico till after his arrival. We shall be detained here at least three weeks, a length of time invaluable to get well our sick and put in good shape our new levies. You can hardly realize either the scenery or the climate of this place. To the west are the two snowy mountains of Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl, their crests far above the clouds, to the north, Malinche, hoar with occasional frosts, and in every other direction gentle elevations, the whole inclosing one of the most beautiful and fertile valleys in the world. Though in the nineteenth degree of latitude and in midsummer, the climate corresponds with Newport in the month of April. This is due to the snowy mountains, our high elevation above the sea (at least 7500 feet), and the daily rains. Every afternoon regularly, we have a copious shower, and frequently a deluge of rain. I find four blankets and my woolen drawers necessary to keep me warm. We need as much bedclothing as in Bucksport in midwinter. I wear thick clothes all the time, and sometimes an overcoat. The gentlemen of Puebla are accustomed to wear their cloaks habitually. For one I could not dispense with flannel underclothes. Yet we never have frosts, and all the fruits and vegetables come to maturity at all seasons of the year. It is a very trying climate. The extreme rarity of the atmosphere is trying to all of us. It checks the insensible perspiration, and we have to be careful to keep well. At the present time my health is perfect. I was never better in my life, and this is the result of an abstemiousness in both eating and drinking which I have practiced ever since my arrival. We have an engineer mess of five officers. For breakfast and supper we scarcely ever have anything but dry toasted bread without butter and hard-boiled eggs. For dinner, meats plainly but thoroughly cooked, and a variety of vegetables without fruit or pastry. Fruit is considered unhealthy. In one of your letters you inquire if my servant is not in my way. You must recollect that our servants do our washing as well as take care of our horses and attend upon us. My servant's part is to wait upon table and clean the dishes. He has to take care of my room, make up my bed, mend my clothes, see that they are washed and in good condition, and take care of my horse. He is expected to spend much time in cleaning my horse, and he has to ride him every day for exercise when I have no occasion to use him myself. My servant's name is Michael Cunningham, a native of New York, and a very good-hearted and attentive fellow. Michael's only fault is that occasionally he indulges in an extra glass. This I hope to correct. My old soldier in Vera Cruz I was obliged to discharge for drunkenness. Michael I found in Puebla. He was a soldier whose term of enlistment had expired. I like this kind of life very much. But you need not fear that I shall look back to it with regret, when I find myself in the midst of my little family and by my own fireside. Wherever we are, it is wise to be content. It makes one's duties pleasanter, and our lives more profitable.

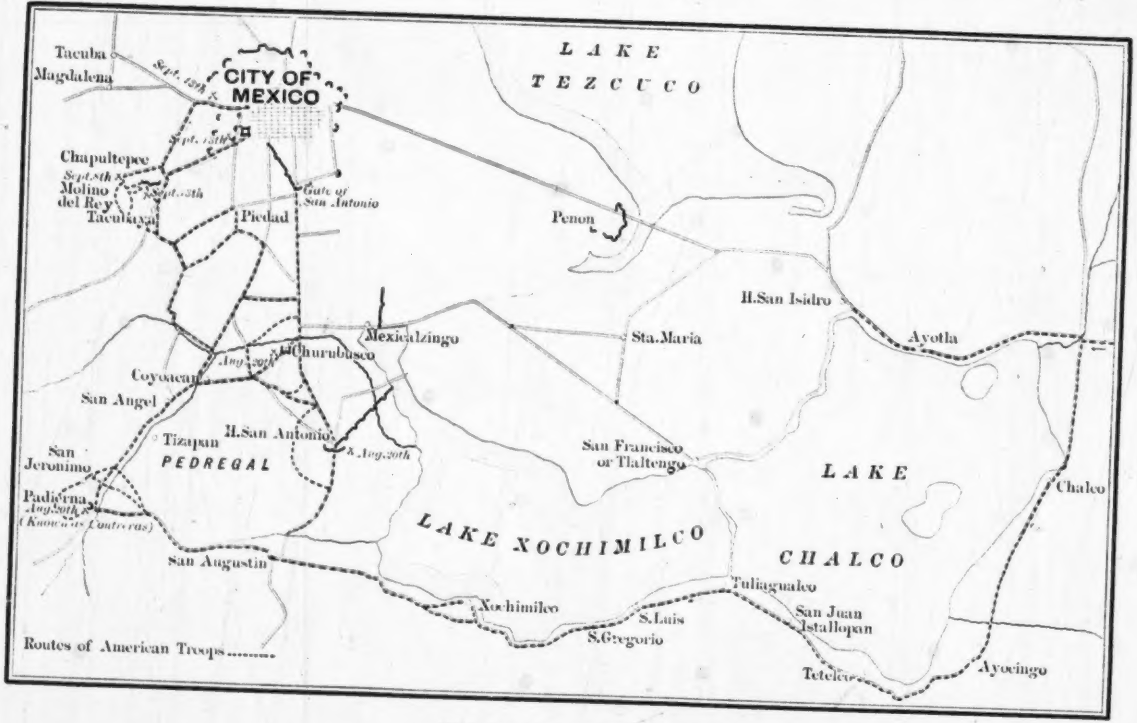
You may inquire how I spend my time. We breakfast at eight, dine at two, and sup at seven. I generally rise in season for breakfast, and go to bed about twelve at night. After breakfast I take a walk and call on my friends. From ten to five o'clock I pass in my room in attending to my official duties, which are now entirely sedentary, and consist in preparing returns, reports, making drawings, etc., or in studying my profession as found in the books which I brought out with me, and which are a perfect treasure. Five to nine is spent in visiting, talking, receiving visits, etc. Nine to twelve I pass generally in reading. Thus my time is well filled, and I am being in some degree useful and preparing myself for future usefulness. Mason spends his time very much in the same way. I am studying daily the Spanish language, and hope before leaving this country to be able to speak it.

Captain Pitman, of Providence, now senior captain of the 9th infantry, I see frequently. He came up with Cadwallader, and is spoken of highly by those who have had opportunities to witness his deportment as an officer. I have no doubt he will do good service, though unfortunately his company is small, some thirty odd effective men. He is determined to learn his profession, and will soon get his company in good condition.

Sunday, August 1. My dear wife, since I have been an observer in this country, I have been more and more convinced that the hero age has not yet gone. This country, so highly favored by nature, a land emphatically of sun and flowers, so abject in the slavishness and brutality of its people, needs a hero spirit for its regeneration. Cortez and his devoted band did a great work, a work fit for heroes and prophets. His iron will and great soul planted Castilian civilization and enterprise in the midst of a contracted and superstitious people; and cities of fine proportions, magnificent works of art, cathedrals to the worship of the Most High, gardens in the arid plain and the dense chapparal and the wild forest field soon greeted the eyes of men in attestation of his genius. But with the decline of Castilian grandeur, Mexico ceased to be governed by a race of heroes, and her governors and her priests have degenerated into mere cumberers of the earth, having zeal only for their own aggrandizement. Is not here a work for a Moses or an Alfred? Is he not needed? And must he not arise? With the times must come the man.

But enough of this. We are still in Puebla, our army eleven thousand strong, daily improving in health, discipline, and efficiency, General Pierce some five days behind with that eagerly looked-for mail that is to bring us tidings from our homes, and all eyes turned to Mexico, ready for either alternative of peace or war. We all hope that this vexed question may be settled here on terms honorable to both countries. But if this is not to be, no man fears the ultimate result. Every private in the ranks has a solid and well-grounded conviction that our flag is never destined to retire, that no effort of the enemy can pull it down. If we move onward, no mortal arm can prevent the valley of Mexico from falling into our hands. General Scott is a remarkable man. I will acknowledge that I was under wrong impressions as to his character. Of a strong and comprehensive mind, he has extraordinary tenacity of purpose, great self-reliance, and a power of labor equaled by few men. He is emphatically the leader of our army, and has its confidence. None of our general officers are to be compared with him. He has his weak points, which I will not mention now. No man in this army doubts his fitness to command.

August 7. Since writing the above General Pierce has arrived with a mail from the States, bringing to me the melancholy tidings that my sister Mary was in Cincinnati in the last stages of consumption, unable to proceed farther on her way home. Oliver went on to bring her home, and wrote me the very day of his arrival. I wrote you yesterday by a courier employed at great expense to go down to Vera Cruz, but it is very uncertain whether he will get through. All the letters that have been sent to the States for months have been by couriers, who carry 80 to 100 letters, each a very small package, at two dollars per letter, and for the sake of the gain run the gauntlet of the guerrillas and robbers that infest the road. About one half get through. I trust that letter will reach you, as it would, I think, serve to remove much doubt in reference to the movement of our army upon the City of Mexico. Twiggs's division commenced its movement to-day. To-morrow General Scott and staff will leave Puebla, and reach Twiggs the same evening at San Martin. Every one is in fine spirits, and no doubt is felt as to the result. This letter I must now bring to a close, and get ready for the march. I shall not be able to add to it till we enter the City of Mexico, and go again into quarters. At that time not far distant, I trust not more than fourteen days, I trust I shall be able to inform you of a glorious victory and of my own personal safety. I for one have not the least presentiment of coming personal danger. I simply fear that my strength may not hold out to the last. But with prudence I have little apprehension as to my strength proving inadequate for my share of duty. I must now, with all hope and confidence in the future, bid you good-night and my sweet babes, commending you all to the care of that great Being who does not permit a sparrow to fall to the ground without his knowledge.


LAKE TEZCUCO
CITY OF MEXICO
Tacuba
Magdalena
Sept. 13th
Sept. 13th
Chapultepec
Sept. 8th
Molino del Rey
Sept. 8th
Tacubaya
Piedad
Gate of San Antonio
Penon
H. San Isidro
Ayotla
Mexicalzingo
Sta. Maria
Churubusco
Aug. 20th
Coyoacan
San Angel
Tizapan
H. San Antonio
Aug. 20th
PEDREGAL
San Jeronimo
Padierna
Aug. 20th
(Known as Contreras)
San Francisco or Tlaltengo
LAKE CHALCO
Chalco
LAKE XOCHIMILCO
San Augustin
Xochimilco
S. Luis
S. Gregorio
Tuliagualco
San Juan Istallopan
Tetelco
Ayocingo
Routes of American Troops

THE VALLEY OF MEXICO

CHAPTER X

ADVANCE TO MEXICO, EL PEÑON, CONTRERAS, CHURUBUSCO

The City of Mexico is situated in the centre of an irregular basin some thirty-five miles from north to south and twenty-five miles from east to west, and is separated from the great plain of Puebla by the eastern branch of the great Cordillera of Anahuac, interposing an elevation of nineteen hundred feet at the Pass of the Rio Frio.

It was known from information collected by the engineers that the city was entirely surrounded either by an inundation or by marshy ground, and was approached by eight causeways, flanked with wet ditches, and provided with numerous cuts; that the whole city was protected by a double and in some quarters by a triple line of defensive works, well armed with cannon, and defended by an army of some thirty thousand men. The direct approach along the great national road was defended by the strong position of the Peñon, seven miles from the city. Chapultepec stood boldly out on the southwest, and on the north there were said to be formidable works at Guadalupe.

After entering the valley along the national road, there were three general modes of approaching the city, — the direct along the national road, around Lake Tezcuco on the north, Chalco and Xochimilco on the south.

All the information collected pointed to the south and west as the proper quarter from whence to attack the city; the south presented an extended front with four of the eight causeways of entrance nearly parallel to each other, and was necessarily weak. On the west the suburb of San Cosme, a single street lined with houses on either side, extended well into the country, and afforded a vulnerable point. Chapultepec, not deemed a very formidable obstacle, required to be swept away to be free to select the point of attack. Hence Tacubaya, a strong village overawing Chapultepec, became the key point of the whole operation. In the particular operation against the southern front, the occupancy of the church and village of Piedad was of the last importance, in view of all the southern gates, communicating directly with all the villages in rear from Tacubaya to San Augustine, and by a good cross road controlling the three causeways of San Antonio, Nino Perdido, and Piedad.

Before ultimately deciding upon the strategic line, General Scott determined to enter the valley at the head of the column, and whilst the rear was closing up, to employ spies and push forward reconnoissances to get accurate information of all the material facts bearing on the plan of operations.

Accordingly, on the 7th of August the division of Twiggs, with the engineer company at its head, led the advance, followed on successive days by Quitman, Worth, and Pillow. General Scott and staff joined the advance on the 8th. On the 11th Twiggs reached Ayotla, fifteen miles from Mexico, Quitman Buena Vista, Worth Rio Frio, Pillow Tesmaluca, respectively 3½ miles, 11½ miles, and 20½ miles in rear.

On the 12th a reconnoissance of the Peñon was made by Captains Lee and Mason and Lieutenant Stevens, the escort consisting of a squadron of the dragoons, Captain Thornton, a section of Taylor's battery, and the 4th artillery, — the whole under the command of Major Gardner. The Peñon was found to be an extensive and commanding position, entirely surrounded by water, — Lake Tezcuco stretching miles to the north. The base of the hill, four hundred feet high, was surrounded by a continuous parallel armed with batteries, and the defenses rose in amphitheatre to the top, which was crowned by a small work. The only causeway of approach was swept by two lines of works, and the defenses of the whole position were formidable. A road branching off from the main road, two miles from the Peñon, and leading to Mexicalcingo, was pursued some two miles, and found to be exceedingly good. The Indians in the neighborhood reported that the road was equally good throughout its whole extent, but that the bridge at Mexicalcingo was broken down.

An amusing incident occurred in the progress of this reconnoissance. Three officers — Major Gaines, of the Kentucky volunteers, Captain Mason and Lieutenant Stevens, of the engineers — approached the causeway some three quarters of a mile in advance of the escort, and advanced towards a group of Mexican officers, some eight or ten in number, who were flourishing their lances and curveting their horses as if to frighten the American officers away. The latter, well mounted, continued their course in a deliberate walk; and when they arrived within about three hundred yards, the valiant Mexicans discharged their pistols, and, finding no effect had been produced upon the American officers, who still continued to advance, they immediately took to flight along the causeway.

In the afternoon Captain Lee and Lieutenant Beauregard reconnoitred the road on the northern shore of Lake Chalco, as far as the causeway between Lakes Chalco and Xochimilco. The causeway was knee-deep in water. The object of the reconnoissance (to get boats) was not effected. During the progress of the reconnoissance of the Peñon the Mexican troops, in expectation of an attack, were brought out from the city in large numbers. Major Smith and Lieutenant Tower, from a hill one thousand feet high, in advance of Ayotla, observed the passage of troops from the city to the Peñon during the progress of this reconnoissance.

On the 3d a minute reconnoissance of the ground between the lakes was made by the engineers, supported by Shields's brigade, who at nine o'clock left camp to block up the Peñon.

Captain Mason, supported by Sibley's dragoons and the rifles, and accompanied by Lieutenants Beauregard and McClellan, examined the position of Mexicalcingo, seven miles from the Peñon, pursuing the road that was partially examined yesterday. This bold movement, almost under the guns of the Peñon, and extremely hazardous in presence of an enterprising enemy, was accomplished in the most successful manner. After arriving at Mexicalcingo the party was joined by Captain Lee and Lieutenant Tower, who, with a squadron of dragoons, had taken the route of the lakes to examine the roads.

Mexicalcingo was found to be a strong position, defended by seven batteries, and entirely surrounded by water and marshy ground.

The Peñon was minutely examined by Lieutenant Stevens, who entered the inundation at several points, and succeeded in examining the whole position, excepting a very inconsiderable portion on the western slope. He entered the lake, and for a whole mile the water did not rise above the fetlocks of his horse. South of the causeway the water was carefully examined to determine the best crossing-place. Two were found where water was not over two feet in depth, and the bottom very hard. The positions of the several batteries and the paths of approach were discovered. The position was even more formidable than it seemed yesterday. Over thirty guns were in position. New batteries were being erected, and stockades on the hill. The whole inundation was swept by powerful batteries. Lieutenant Stevens was engaged seven hours in this reconnoissance, most of the time within twelve hundred yards of the enemy's guns.

We all returned late, much fatigued with our day's work. The general expressed much gratification at the information furnished by the several reconnoissances.

The general has not yet entirely decided upon his course. He listens to everything, weighs everything, and, when he sees his way clear, will act with promptitude. Pillow arrived to-day, and immediately proceeded to Chalco.

August 14. Little was done to-day in the way of reconnoissances. Captain Mason and Lieutenant Beauregard were assigned to duty with the division of General Worth, and joined him at Chalco. Lieutenant Tower commenced a reconnoissance of the lakes, to determine the practicability of transport by water to Mexicalcingo, but did not succeed in getting into the canal of Chalco. In the afternoon Colonel Duncan arrived at general headquarters with the information that the road south of the lakes was practicable. (He had explored ten miles of the road with a column.) Accordingly, the plan of the general to attack Mexicalcingo in front, sending Worth's division around to attack in rear, was abandoned, and it was determined to move the whole army around the lakes.

August 15. Headquarters left Ayotla at eleven, and proceeded to Chalco, Worth pushing from Chalco the same evening, and Quitman entering Chalco. Captain Lee and Lieutenant Tower were assigned to the brigade of Harney for temporary duty with the advance. The engineer company also joined the advance of Worth.

August 16. All the divisions in motion this morning. The road around the lakes was narrow and rough, in many cases passing through a narrow defile on the very edge of the lake, on one side abrupt acclivities, and on the other a quagmire, into which the least false step would plunge one several feet deep.

Headquarters, before reaching the camping-ground of Worth of the previous night, had to pass Quitman's and Pillow's train. On arriving at Chimalpa, headquarters remained some hours for authentic intelligence from Twiggs, it having been reported that in marching out from Ayotla, early in the morning, he had encountered a large force of the enemy under Alvarez. On learning that Taylor's battery, in firing seven rounds, dispersed the large body of enemy's lancers which made a demonstration against Twiggs at the point where the route left the national road to wind round Chalco, headquarters moved forward to Tulancingo, where we passed the night. This village is remarkable for its large and ancient olive groves. The olive-trees on either side of the road, stretching out their arms, form an arch above like the elms of New England.

August 17. Headquarters reached Xochimilco this day with Pillow's and Quitman's divisions, Worth advancing as far as San Augustin, and Twiggs reaching Pillow's camping-ground of last evening. The road to-day was extremely difficult, and required some working to fill up cuts, and remove stones and other obstructions placed in the road. The march was very laborious in consequence of the continual halts.

Early on the morning of the 18th General Scott reached San Augustin, called the engineers, observed, "To-day the enemy may feel us, to-morrow we must feel him," and ordered reconnoissances to determine the best mode of reaching the position of Tacubaya. There were two roads,— the direct by San Antonio, which was already ascertained to be occupied in strength by the enemy, and one to the west passing through Contreras and San Angel, known, however, for a portion of the distance to be simply a mule-path.

Major Smith directed in person the examination of the San Antonio route, assisted by Captain Mason, Lieutenants Stevens and Tower, and Captain Lee that to the west, assisted by Lieutenant Beauregard. The instructions of the general as to reconnoissances had been already anticipated by General Worth as regards the Contreras route, who had pushed his division forward, and dispatched Captain Mason, escorted by Thornton's dragoons, to reconnoitre the enemy's position at San Antonio. Whilst in the discharge of this duty two shots from a battery of the enemy were fired, killing Captain Thornton outright and severely wounding Fitzwater, an interpreter.

General Worth immediately placed his division in the occupancy of the Hacienda Cuapa, thus affording the most ample protection to the escorts of the engineers. Major Smith now ordered Captain Mason and Lieutenant Tower to examine the enemy's right, and Lieutenant Stevens his left.

Captain Mason first went to the steeple of a church near by to determine the best mode of conducting his reconnoissance, and then with Colonel C. F. Smith's light battalion he passed over a field of pedregal to our left, till he got a full view of the rear of the enemy. He traced paths leading to Mexicalcingo, interrogated the peons, and came to the conclusion that the whole position might be turned and the enemy made to abandon it, by crossing an infantry force on the line he had just pursued, and falling upon the enemy at daylight with the bayonet.

Lieutenant Stevens was twice recalled whilst pushing his reconnoissance, first, by order of Colonel Garland in consequence of an apprehended attack from the enemy, and second, by direction of Major Smith, the senior engineer. This officer did not deem it necessary to do anything further, observing to General Worth that he had examined the whole vicinity from the top of the hacienda, and had also interrogated the residents, and was satisfied that the ground was firm on our right, and afforded a route to turn the enemy's position. Lieutenant Stevens expressed doubts as to this, and was permitted to go on with his examination. He persevered until night, and found that the ground was marshy, intersected with canals, and that operations in this direction were not practicable.

In the mean time Captain Lee, with Kearny's dragoons and Graham's 11th infantry, reconnoitred the route by Contreras. At about a mile and a half it became a mule-path, requiring to be worked to be practicable for artillery, and on ascending a hill a mile and a half farther on, a large intrenched camp opened to view at a mile's distance, occupied in strength by the enemy, and completely closing the Contreras route, which for the intervening distance passed through a bed of pedregal, a lava rock of honeycomb projection. After passing the intrenched camp, the road was known to be good. At the hill the party had a successful skirmish with the enemy's pickets, and then returned to San Augustin.

In the afternoon General Scott examined in person the San Antonio front, and at his quarters that evening, after hearing the reports of the engineers, he decided to mask San Antonio, and force the intrenched camp at Contreras. Captain Mason alone of the engineers advocated the forcing of San Antonio.

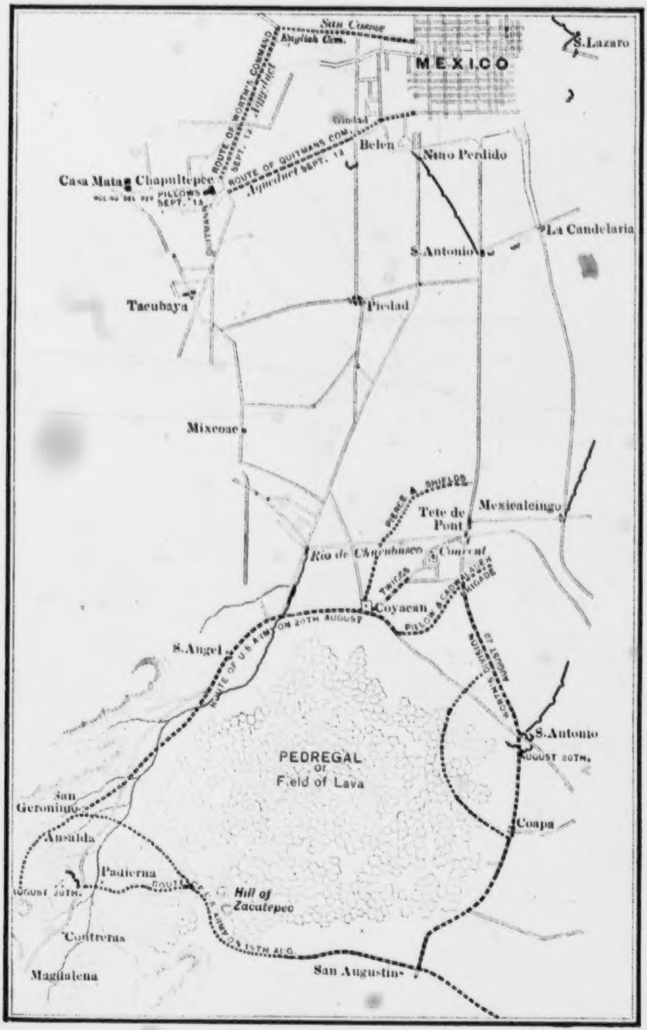
On the 19th Twiggs's division, on coming up from

Xochimilco, was pushed forward to the support of General Pillow, already on his way to furnish parties to work the road. The engineer company, with its tools on the backs of mules, was ordered back from Worth early that morning and assigned to Captain Lee, who, assisted by Lieutenants Beauregard and Tower, located the road and superintended the working parties.

Major Smith, assisted by Lieutenant Stevens, designated the positions to be occupied by the trains and the division of Quitman at San Augustin, now become the general depot and key of operations. Captain Mason continued on duty with Worth in front of San Antonio.

General Twiggs passed the division of Pillow just as the tools of his working parties were being packed away, they being no longer able to work the way in consequence of having come within range of the enemy's batteries; and the engineers, now joined by Major Smith and Lieutenant Stevens from San Augustin, advanced to and entered the pedregal to examine the enemy's position. As observed yesterday by Captain Lee, he was found to be in a strong intrenched camp on the opposite side of a deep ravine, which, with the almost impracticable bed of pedregal that intervened, completely separated the two armies. All the efforts of the engineers, who advanced close to the enemy's pickets, Lieutenant McClellan having his horse shot under him, could discover no other route than the mule-path, completely commanded by the long guns of the intrenched camp. This path wound through the rocks, and afforded at points some little cover for men and guns. The pickets of the enemy were in large force and well pushed forward. In the mean time a heavy cannonade, shells and round-shot, opened from the camp. At this juncture, with the rifles thrown forward as skirmishers, the howitzer battery of Callender and the field battery of Magruder were brought forward to a position indicated by Captain Lee to drive in the pickets and make a bold demonstration, to cover the true and very different movement, indicated by Lieutenant Stevens on returning from the advanced position gained by the engineers under cover of the rifles to communicate Captain Lee's request for the batteries, and before the order to move forward the batteries had been given. This officer (Lieutenant Stevens) observed to Twiggs, the senior officer in front, "The true point of attack is the enemy's left. Attack his left, you cut him off from his reserves and hurl him into the gorges of the mountains." Major Smith expressed similar opinions. Riley was now sent against the enemy's left, and the whole brigade of Smith to cover the demonstration in front. Callender brought his battery into action with extraordinary promptness and efficiency, and pushed it rapidly forward. The heavier guns of Magruder could not be so easily handled, and great delay occurred in getting them into battery; a position was found partially sheltering them, and they were brought into action. Callender was soon severely, and T. Preston Johnston of Magruder's battery mortally wounded. Lieutenant McClellan, who assisted to carry Callender to the rear, now took command of his battery, Lieutenant Reno being at the time detached with the rockets. Lieutenant Foster also, at Captain Magruder's request, took charge of one of his pieces, and when Johnston fell, carried him to the rear. Both these officers distinguished themselves by their exertions in pushing forward the two batteries as well as in serving them.

Riley was still struggling through the pedregal, Lieutenant Tower guiding his brigade, and Cadwallader was sent in the same direction. Smith's brigade, closely followed by Pierce, now came to the front, and entered a cornfield to the left, three companies of the 3d in-


San Cosme
English Cem.
MEXICO
S. Lazaro
Route of Worth's Command Sept. 13
Aqueduct
Garita
Belen
Nino Perdido
Route of Quitmans Com. Sept. 13
Aqueduct Sept. 13
Casa Mata
Chapultepec
Molino del Rey
Pillows Sept. 13
Quitman
La Candelaria
S. Antonio
Tacubaya
Piedad
Mixcoac
Pierce & Shields
Tete de Pont
Mexicalcingo
Rio de Churubusco
Convent
Twiggs
Coyacan
Pillow & Cadwalader Brigade
Route of U.S. Army on 20th August
S. Angel
Worth's Division August 20
S. Antonio
August 20th.
PEDREGAL
or
Field of Lava
San Geronimo
Ansalda
Padierna
August 20th.
Route of U.S. Army on 19th Aug.
Hill of Zacatepec
Coapa
Contreras
Magdalena
San Augustin

BATTLEFIELDS IN THE VALLEY OF MEXICO

Contreras, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, Chapultepec, Capture of City

fantry, Captain Craig, being detailed as a guard to the batteries, and Lieutenant Haskin with twenty men to make good Magruder's losses. The fire from the camp — shot, shells, and small-arms — on the front was terrible, and the enemy's pickets advanced in force, threatening the batteries. The leading regiment of Pierce, the 9th infantry, Colonel Ransom, conducted by Lieutenant Stevens, now gallantly dashed forward through the fire that swept the path, crossed a cleared cornfield in direct view of the enemy's battery, pressed from cover to cover, driving clouds of the enemy's skirmishers before them, crossed the rapid stream that ran in the ravine, and gained the opposite bank, within three or four hundred yards of the camp. This important position it maintained till dark, forming with the 12th infantry, the detachments of Craig and Haskin, and scattered bodies of the rifles, the sole force in front; the 15th infantry, Colonel Morgan, having been sent in the trail of Cadwallader immediately on the arrival of the general-in-chief on the ground, and Smith with his brigade following at a later period.

Riley on emerging from the pedregal came upon the village of San Geronimo, through which he swept, and continued to advance in the direction of a ravine that was found to extend to the rear of the camp. In this isolated position he had two successful encounters with the enemy's lancers, killing their general, Frontera, and awaited only the coming up of reinforcements to order the assault. But Cadwallader, not put in motion till Riley was well on his way, had barely time to reach the village and hold it against the reserves of the enemy, estimated at ten thousand men, foot and horse, which now came up from the city under Santa Anna in person. The village, the key to the position, was to be maintained at all hazards. Cadwallader presented a bold front and kept the enemy in check. The arrival of Morgan an hour later, and of Smith towards night, made the position impregnable against an infantry attack.

About sunset Riley returned to the village, and Smith, now senior in command, resolved to attack the reserves, but, dark coming on before his dispositions were made, an attack upon the intrenched camp was resorted to as an alternative.

A dark and stormy night now closed in upon the scene, and the soldiers in their dreary bivouac were placed in readiness for the morrow's work. All thus far had gone on well. Worth in front of San Antonio maintained the front and rear. Smith in the village of San Geronimo held the key of the offensive movement to the enemy's left; his rear, thanks to the pedregal and Pierce, still held in front of the intrenched camp, being safe against attack.

The general-in-chief returned at nightfall to San Augustin. Many bodies of stragglers were to be seen on the field. Even the two commanders of divisions, Pillow and Twiggs, failed in reaching the village, where their commands were in position, and within reach of an overwhelming force. As the fire of our batteries died away and they were withdrawn, cheer on cheer rose from the enemy's extended line. Rain coming on, many bodies of stragglers not being able to find their commands, the principal force hemmed up in a little village within reach of the enemy's heavy batteries and within striking distance of his large force, for the first time a feeling of despondency seized upon the minds of our men. Happily, General Smith, the officer in command at the village, was equal to the emergency, and extricated our force from its perilous situation.

He determined upon a night attack, and sent Captain Lee to San Augustin to confer with the general-in-chief in reference to supporting it by a diversion in front. In consequence of the lateness of the hour, the general deemed it impracticable to get any portion of Worth's command upon the ground in season, but gave full powers to Captain Lee to collect all the stragglers in front to operate as a diversion to the main attack projected by General Smith.

In the course of this interview General Pillow and General Twiggs came in, stating that, in consequence of the darkness and having no guide, they had found it impracticable to reach the village, and were obliged to retrace their steps; Pillow adding that they fell upon one of the enemy's pickets while thus groping their way, or came so near as plainly to hear their voices. Twiggs, a heavy man advanced in years, fell into one of the hollows of which the formation was full, and injured himself considerably.

I was present during almost the entire interview, having entered the room shortly after the arrival of Captain Lee, and everything I witnessed increased, if it were possible, my confidence in General Scott. Himself on the ground till dark came on, he had grasped the whole field of operations, and had determined to adhere to his original plan. He listened with perfect composure and complacency to Captain Lee's statement of the field, occasionally introducing a pertinent question, and with the utmost patience weighed the various suggestions of the officers, and particularly General Smith's plan of a night attack. Neither General Pillow nor General Twiggs made any suggestions as to what should be done. Captain Lee, having been in all parts of the field, and having full information on almost every point, was, as it were, the only person whom it was necessary to listen to.

The general listened with equal patience to what I had observed on the front attack. In the very commencement, and before the batteries had been ordered forward, I stated with much emphasis to General Twiggs that the attack should be against the enemy's left. "Attack his left, you cut him off from his reserves and hurl him into the gorges of the mountains." I, however, conducted the batteries forward, and with the assistance of Lieutenants McClellan and Foster, placed them in position. After reconnoitring towards the right in the attempt to find a better path for our guns and troops, and without success, I returned to the batteries, which in the mean time had been considerably advanced, and were exposed to a tremendous fire of grape. The howitzer battery was being served with great effect, and had almost cleared the ground in front of the ravine of the enemy. But very great delay occurred in bringing forward Magruder's battery and opening its fire. Everything seemed to go wrong with him. The enemy's grape, within point-blank range, in a measure disabled the howitzer battery, wounding many of the gunners and finally disabling Callender, who was wounded in both legs, and at this moment some little delay occurred in getting a supply of spherical case-shot. The supporting party was reduced to some eight rifles, and the enemy's skirmishers advanced. General Smith's brigade came up, and entered the cornfield to the left of the battery. At my request, two or three companies of the 3d infantry advanced to the front and right to protect the batteries. Soon the 9th infantry came up, with general orders to support the batteries, and were conducted by me over a cut and open cornfield, under a shower of the enemy's grape, to the cover of a ledge, from which, passing from cover to cover, driving the enemy's skirmishers before them, they reached the ravine, and crossing which they sheltered themselves on the opposite bluff on the edge of a cornfield. Colonel Ransom showed great gallantry and force in the management of his command, and to show the promptness of his command in following him, this anecdote is related. Only some eight or ten men were seen lagging behind, and these an officer of the regiment was cursing most lustily to urge them forward.

Just as the regiment had reached its position I met General Twiggs, and we both ascended to a little ridge, where we had a full view of the enemy's intrenched camp. Soon a shower of grape came in our direction. General Twiggs remained in his exposed position without moving a muscle, till I suggested the propriety of his stepping down to a little depression which afforded cover.

He informed me that Riley had been moving against the enemy's right for more than an hour. I remarked, "I will go and find him, and bring you back word of where he is," to which General Twiggs assented, and I immediately started in search of Riley. I was, however, much exhausted by my previous exertions, and the ground was of the difficult and almost impracticable honeycomb lava rock, and I was obliged to abandon the attempt, and returned to the advanced position of the 9th infantry.

On an elevated ridge just on the edge of the ravine, and partly sheltered by a cedar-tree, I had a distinct view of the whole position. I observed the encounter of the lancers with our own troops (which I afterwards ascertained to be Riley's command), and after an interval the enemy's reserves advancing in great force. They continued to advance in two lines of lancers and infantry, with clouds of skirmishers in front, and halted, their right nearly opposite the village of San Geronimo.

Whilst these reserves were advancing, there was an evident slackening, and at length a total cessation, of our return fire in front to the almost continual fire of grape and escopettes of the enemy. This led me to suppose that a change had taken place in our dispositions, involving great exposure perhaps to the 9th, and I returned for information. On my return I met many bodies of stragglers, who could afford no information as to the state of the field, heard the triumphal shouts from the Mexican lines, and finally fell upon General Pillow and General Twiggs. General Pillow was in much perplexity, was intent upon finding the village of San Geronimo, and wished me to conduct the 9th to that place. Not having been to the village, and dark coming on, I confessed my inability to conduct the regiment as he desired, and after considerable hesitation he directed me to bring back the regiment to the position of Magruder's battery. I accordingly went in the direction of the ravine, my chief guide being the discharge of the enemy's guns from the position of the reserve; but that failing, and the night becoming quite dark, I lost my way and wandered about, until finally I heard voices approaching in my direction, which I soon discovered to be from our own troops. Calling out to them, I was answered by Lieutenant Foster, of my own corps, who informed me that he was retiring with a party of about thirty rifles and 9th infantry men, having just been driven out from a small building, higher up and on the same stream with the position of the 9th infantry, by a large force of the enemy. At this time I was so exhausted that I could walk only with great difficulty, and was obliged to abandon going in quest of the 9th, and returned with Foster, who gave me the support of his arm till we reached Sibley's troop of dragoons, near the foot of the hill from which General Scott had overlooked the field. As we wended our way along the rain fell, small bodies of troops were to be seen from time to time, and everything had the appearance of a broken and dispirited army. It was perhaps the only desponding moment our troops had seen since the opening of the campaign.

After resting about half an hour, I returned with Sibley, and reported what I had observed as above.

During the whole of this memorable evening, not only was General Scott perfectly composed and assured, but, in his intercourse with those present, neglected none of the courtesies due to guests. All those who came in tired and wet from the field he made sit down at his table and break their fast.

About twelve o'clock General Twiggs and Captain Lee set out on their way back to the field, Pillow remaining in town to sleep; and on arriving on the ground of the front attack Twiggs, entirely exhausted by his exertions, sought a little rest, and Lee collected the 9th and 12th, with some sappers and rifles, to make a diversion in front.

This note-book is not the place for a detailed account of the brilliant conflict planned by General Smith. Suffice it to say that, in consequence of the darkness and constant rain of the night, the attack projected to be made at three was not actually made till daylight. It was eminently successful, and without doubt was the most brilliant affair of the war. The principal charge was made by Riley on their reverse and rear, led by Tower, and supported by Smith's and Cadwallader's brigades, respectively commanded by Dimick and Cadwallader, Ransom in front making a diversion with the troops that had been collected in that quarter. The position was carried with little loss on our part, and the whole force of the enemy either killed, wounded, taken prisoners, or driven solitary fugitives from the field. General Valencia made his escape with the lancers in an eccentric direction, and was afterwards heard of at Toluca.

Our troops pushed on in pursuit and soon entered the town of San Angel, through which Santa Anna had passed that very morning with his reserves of fifteen thousand men. After a short halt at San Angel, Pillow in command ordered the column to move on Coyoacan, where an unimportant skirmish took place.

Here General Scott joined the column, and ordered a halt to reconnoitre and bring up the captured guns. Captain Lee went towards San Antonio with a dragoon escort to communicate with Worth, and I to the steeple of the church to use my glass. Turning it on the San Antonio road, I observed the enemy in full retreat, the whole road from San Antonio for more than a mile towards the city being filled with troops, pack-mules, and wagons. On reporting this to General Scott, he ordered Twiggs to advance to cut off their retreat, and assigned me to duty as the senior engineer officer of his division.

CHURUBUSCO.

On the head of the column reaching the fork of a road, whither a party of one hundred lancers had been driven by the mounted rifles, it was halted and a very rapid reconnoissance made of the roads in advance. Lieutenant McClellan taking the left-hand road and I the right, they were found to lead respectively to, and directly in front of, a church, which was observed to be occupied in strength. McClellan observed one gun, and a prisoner taken on the ground reported there were two guns. The engineer company was advanced in front of the building to support and continue the reconnoissance. Whilst on this duty it became engaged with the enemy, and the 1st artillery was ordered up in support.

Thus the action, on the part of Twiggs's division, commenced. It having been entered on, it was determined to make a bold and quick matter of it. Taylor's battery was ordered up, and took a position in the open space in front of the church. It was expected it would drive the enemy from the roof,[1] and enable the division — Smith in front, Riley on the left, and perhaps a regiment along the direct road — to carry the work by a *coup de main.* This course, recommended by myself to Twiggs, was taken. Some delay, however, occurred before Riley got in position and opened his fire. Meantime Taylor, serving his battery with extraordinary coolness and energy, was met by a terrific return from the enemy, who poured upon him an unceasing deluge of grape, his whole battery consisting of eight guns, one a 16-pounder. Taylor breasted it manfully for an hour and a half, when, two of his officers wounded and many of his men and horses killed and disabled, he was compelled most reluctantly to retire.

Soon after this Riley got in position and opened a sharp fire, producing an immediate and evident abatement in the enemy's fire. The 1st artillery had been in position from the commencement of the attack, and was now followed by the 3d infantry. The work attacked in front and rear by our infantry, all retreat cut off by Shields and Pierce occupying the causeway in rear, Worth in possession of the *tête-de-pont,* Duncan opening two guns on one of the long faces of the work, and Larkin Smith directing a 4-pounder against the convent, the white flag was hung out at the very moment the 2d and 3d infantry from the rear and front carried the work at the point of the bayonet. Immediately the flag of the 3d infantry was planted on the roof of the building; and over one thousand prisoners, including three general officers, surrendered to Twiggs.

The battle of Contreras and the subsequent advance upon San Angel and Coyoacan led to the evacuation of San Antonio. Whilst this was in progress, Clarke's brigade, conducted by Captain Mason, of the engineers, made a flank movement to the left, and cut the enemy's retreating column of three thousand in two, dispersing the rear portion and preventing its reaching the main body and entering into the subsequent fight. Worth, with both brigades, now pushed forward with great energy upon the heels of the other portion, till the column was arrested by a fire of grape from a strong bastioned field-work of fourteen feet relief and wet ditches in front, covering the passage of a canal, and somewhat in rear of the work attacked by Twiggs, and which, like the latter work, had not been noticed in the previous reconnoissances. Both brigades were formed in the cornfields on the right; the charge was ordered, Clarke in advance; and after a desperate but short conflict the work was carried at the point of the bayonet, the 6th infantry and 2d artillery particularly distinguishing themselves.

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[1] The flat roof on the convent and most of the buildings in Mexico afforded strong positions for defense, being surrounded by parapets, known as azoteas, formed by carrying the walls some four feet above the roofs. The convent azotea was lined with infantry.

In the mean time Shields, in command of Shields's and Pierce's brigades, conducted by Captain Lee, the Palmetto regiment in advance, pursued a route to the left, and finally came in contact with the enemy near the hacienda on the great San Antonio causeway, a mile from the *tête-de-pont*. The enemy were in great force lining the causeway, and the lancers advancing towards the canal. The Palmettoes advanced most gallantly, led by their gallant colonel, Butler; but some hesitancy was manifested by the other commands, who retired under cover of the hacienda or crowded behind the Palmettoes. Notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the officers, a pause took place at good escapette range, and a considerable loss was experienced. The Palmettoes lost their colonel, shot dead, their lieutenant-colonel, wounded, four successive color-bearers, shot down, and nearly half their rank and file killed and wounded. Finally the movement was commenced, the enemy was charged through, and the causeway was filled with fugitives to the city.

The dragoons, who thus far had continued inactive, now took the causeway in pursuit, and the most gallant feat of the war was enacted. Captain Kearny, in advance with a squadron, pursued the fugitives to the very garita, where he charged directly up to a battery under a fire of grape, dismounted, calling upon his men to follow him, and entered the gorge of the work to take it by assault. Looking around, he found himself alone, the few men immediately following him having been shot down, and the remainder having retired in obedience to the return call from the rear, which for Kearny's safety had just at this moment been inauspiciously sounded. Surrounded by a crowd of fugitives, who pressed too closely upon him to use their weapons, he retreated, making a passage with his sword, mounted a jaded Mexican horse, and commenced to retire. Finding that the sorry speed of the brute would long time expose him to the enemy's grape, he dismounted and sought a better steed. Scarcely was he mounted when his arm was carried away by a grape; but he succeeded in making good his retreat. His first lieutenant, Ewell, had two horses shot under him, and his second lieutenant, Graham, was wounded in the hand.

This was the terrible and decisive conflict of the war, and was a case of a combined movement of all the divisions. The enemy's intrenched works were carried at the point of the bayonet. Surrounded on all sides, the strong defensive building attacked by Twiggs was obliged to surrender; the reserves, vigorously pushed, fled from the field; and the army, which in the morning was estimated to be 27,000 strong, scarcely presented in the evening a sorry array of 4000. We could have entered the city the same day had we chosen. But our troops had made extraordinary exertions, our casualties were great, and the general determined to operate against the city after deliberately weighing its capacity for defense.

After this disastrous defeat of the enemy General Scott rode through his lines, addressing with terseness, brevity, and feeling the troops as he passed them, who received him with great enthusiasm, and exhibiting all that moderation and equanimity which has eminently characterized his course throughout this campaign. Towards night he returned to his quarters at San Augustin.

All the divisions suffered in nearly equal proportion, the casualties amounting to 1066, of which about one fourth were killed or permanently disabled.

The 1st artillery suffered most severely in officers, losing in all the battles five gallant officers, Captains Capron and Burke, Lieutenants Irons, Johnson, and Hoffman.

It is probable the same and perhaps more decisive results could have been effected, and with far less loss, had Twiggs and Worth stopped in mid-career, and an hour been taken to reconnoitre the enemy's position. Pillow and Shields with Garland's brigade and Duncan's battery demonstrating in front, Twiggs's whole division with Taylor and the howitzer battery on the enemy's right, Clarke's brigade on their left, both making considerable detours, Clarke as a demonstration, Twiggs the great attack, the causeway might have been gained; Taylor's battery sent thundering on the enemy's rear, with Harney's horse and Riley's brigade cutting off all hope of succor, the enemy's works and the reserves inclosed by our troops must have immediately surrendered. Then, the prisoners and their works left in charge of Pillow, all the other divisions united could have been pushed forward in support of Riley, and the city could have been stormed with little or no loss.

This is expecting impossibilities. We knew nothing of the enemy's works, but we saw them in full retreat, we pushed forward to cut off their retreat, and, coming upon the enemy's intrenched position, we became engaged in the very act of reconnoitring it. The result was most glorious to our arms, and will, we trust, conclude the war.

Major Smith, the chief engineer, was present during the battle of Churubusco, and was distinguished for gallantry. He is suffering with the same disability as myself.

We were both exceedingly fatigued with our exertions, and were glad to get a night's rest at our quarters at San Augustin. Shortly after our return Captain Lee and Lieutenant Tower came in.

Captain Lee had made the most extraordinary exertions, having been on foot for two days and a night without a moment's rest. It was almost the only instance in this war I have seen him fatigued. His services were of the most important character, not second to those of any individual in this army. Lieutenant Tower, in his night reconnoissance and subsequent services in leading Riley's brigade against Valencia's intrenched camp, exhibited great resolution and high military qualities.

It seemed to be conceded by the whole army that the engineers in these important operations had done their duty, and that every individual officer had shown a readiness to participate in the perils incident to their service. In truth, the whole army, officers and men, were gallant, and in several instances exhibited all the terrible energy of the Anglo-Saxon race.

The night attack by Smith, and the storming of the works at Churubusco by Worth and Twiggs, are unsurpassed in war. The former was a rare combination of science and force, the latter an instance of desperate valor.

I slept little that night. The picture was mingled sunshine and clouds. The mangled forms of Capron, Burke, Johnston, and others whom I personally knew and respected, I could not keep from my mind. The experience of war is saddening. The terrible scenes of the battlefield cannot be effaced from the memory. We realize the observation of Franklin, "I scarcely ever knew a good war or a bad peace."

Lieutenant Stevens gained great reputation, both at headquarters and in the army generally, by the part he took in these brilliant operations. His reconnoissance of El Peñon was considered one of the most daring and complete of the war, and, as he modestly remarks, "General Scott was very much pleased with my reconnoissance, and I got more credit for it than I deserved." General William H. French (commander of the third corps, Army of the Potomac, in 1863) writes of this reconnoissance, in which he participated as one of the covering party: "It brought Lieutenant Stevens conspicuously before the army. That night the reports of the different officers of engineers were made to the general-in-chief in person; that of Lieutenant Stevens was so full and clear, it in a great measure decided General Scott to take the route around Lake Chalco, and attack the City of Mexico in reverse. From this time the general-in-chief recognized his ability and talents."

His exertions at El Peñon overtasked his strength, however, and in consequence he was obliged to ride for three days in an ambulance on the march around Lake Chalco as far as Rochimilco.

In the movement on the intrenched camp at Contreras, Lieutenant Stevens, advancing with the skirmishers to reconnoitre the position, saw at once that the decisive movement would be to turn the enemy's left, and seize the road between the camp and the city, thus isolating the former and cutting it off from reinforcements. Hastening to General Twiggs, he urged this movement upon that officer in his earnest and forcible manner, saying, "The true point of attack is the enemy's left. Attack his left, you cut him off from his reserves, and hurl him into the gorges of the mountains." The movement was at once decided upon. Riley's brigade was directed to the right (enemy's left) over the pedregal, followed by Cadwallader, and later by Shields and Smith; San Geronimo was seized, and the dashing victory of Contreras was the result. Lieutenant Stevens was the first to see and urge this decisive movement, and his advice was immediately adopted by the veteran Twiggs.

The terrific conflict of Churubusco, which followed hard on Contreras, was brought on, or perhaps it may be said precipitated, by Lieutenant Stevens. From the church steeple in Coyoacan he discovered the enemy in full retreat down the San Antonio causeway, and on his report to that effect, General Scott at once ordered Twiggs forward, and Lieutenant Stevens to accompany him as his senior engineer officer. Leading the division with the engineer company, he discovered the fortified church, or convent, barring the road; the company became engaged, and, the action having thus commenced, General Twiggs adopted almost implicitly the suggestions of the ardent young officer, and gave free rein to his efforts "to make a bold and quick matter of it." Lieutenant Stevens personally led and placed in position Taylor's battery, the 1st artillery (infantry), and other troops, greatly exposing himself during the action. The position, however, proved much stronger than was expected, a strong earthwork and breastwork being screened and partially concealed by tall, waving corn, which covered the fields in front, and cost the bloody and protracted fight before it fell. Lieutenant Stevens did not altogether escape criticism for putting the battery where it was so badly cut up; indeed, seems to have reproached himself; but his superiors, the veteran Twiggs and Scott, found no fault, knowing full well that great boldness and exertion are the price of great achievements in war. General H. J. Hunt relates that, after entering the city, a party of wounded officers were talking over matters, and Lieutenant Stevens reproached himself for having too severely criticised Magruder at Contreras, and remarked: "The very next day at Churubusco I did worse myself, acting on my judgment and eyesight, which deceived me, for I had not a knowledge of all the facts bearing on the situation. It was therefore my fault that Taylor's battery was knocked to pieces."

"Here, again," remarks General Hunt, "is his characteristic frankness and honesty, and *sense of justice* to others, breaking out, and carrying him further than was necessary, and into doing injustice to himself."

ARCHBISHOP'S PALACE, 3½ MILES FROM THE MAIN PLAZA OF THE CITY OF MEXICO, Sunday, August 22, 1847.

MY DEAREST WIFE, — The great battle of Mexico has been fought, and our arms have achieved a glorious triumph. Commissions are now sitting to treat of an armistice that will terminate, as we all trust, in a permanent and honorable peace to both countries. Mexico is again without an army, and the gates of the capital are open to us. Terrible was the conflict, severe our loss, particularly in efficient and gallant officers; the whole army was engaged, and the whole public force of Mexico struck down, large numbers of prisoners and a great amount of material of war falling into our hands.

My heart is filled with gratitude to the Most High that I had the strength to do my duty with the other officers of my corps, and that, although much exposed in three different reconnoissances and two hard-fought battles, I have escaped without a wound, and without any abatement of my health and strength. I cannot feel exultation. We have lost many brave officers and men, some my personal friends; streams of blood have in reality flowed over the battlefield. The hearts of the whole Mexican nation are thrilling with anguish and dismay. Such is war, so glittering and imposing on parade and in anticipation, so terrible in reality.

Puebla is about seventy-five miles from Mexico. On referring to the map, you will find that the direct road passes between lakes Tezcuco on the north, Chalco and Xochimilco on the south. At the Venta de Chalco, about twenty miles from Mexico, the road turns off to pass southward of the lakes. El Peñon, about eight miles from Mexico, is a high hill entirely surrounded with water, along the edge of which the great direct road to Mexico passes, consisting of a causeway for about a mile and a half approaching it, and also of a causeway the whole distance after leaving it, till we reach the City of Mexico.

General Twiggs with his splendid division was in the advance, followed on successive days by Quitman, Worth, and Pillow. In five days Twiggs was pushed up to Ayotla, fifteen or sixteen miles from Mexico, General Scott continuing with him in the advance, and the other divisions five, fifteen, and twenty-five miles in rear. As they came up (it required two days), they were held in reserve at the head of Lake Chalco, whilst the proper reconnoissances and examinations were made to determine the general plan of attack. The first day, a reconnoissance was made of the Peñon, supported by a squadron of dragoons, a regiment of infantry, and two pieces of artillery. The Peñon was found to be fortified and occupied in force. Captain Mason, of the engineers (my friend Mason), Major Gaines, of the Kentucky volunteers (taken prisoner just before the great battle of Buena Vista, and who made his escape only one or two days before the march of the army from Puebla), and myself rode some distance in the advance, and observed near the causeway some eight or ten Mexican officers. We were at least three quarters of a mile from the rest of our force. We advanced upon them, they curveting their horses and advancing upon us. When within about three hundred yards they discharged their pistols, but we continuing our advance, they all turned their horses and returned full speed across the causeway, carrying with them a troop of lancers. The whole affair was very amusing and afforded much sport. It did not diminish our contempt of Mexican prowess.

The second day a splendid reconnoissance was made of the whole country between the lakes, including the Peñon and Mexicalcingo at the head of Lake Xochimilco. The particular reconnoissance of the Peñon was intrusted to me. On my little horse, one of the most enduring, spirited, and beautiful animals in the service, with two dragoons, I went half way round the Peñon, and was for seven hours within almost point-blank range of its guns, examining the different batteries, determining the various approaches, and particularly the character of the inundation. Frequently I was in the water up to the belly of my horse. General Scott was very much pleased with my reconnoissance, and I got more credit for it than I deserved. The same day Mason made an admirable reconnoissance of Mexicalcingo.

Our spies had given information that the road around Chalco was impracticable for our trains, and in consequence thereof the general almost made up his mind to force Mexicalcingo, and at that point and westward, fight the great battle of the war. He, however, determined to wait one day for additional information.

Worth, who had now come up, was sent to Chalco, and a column under the orders of Colonel Duncan reconnoitred the road around the lakes. Our spies were found to have given wrong information, and the road, though bad, was found to be practicable. That same evening General Scott, with the whole field before him, determined to move around Chalco, and ordered the movement to commence on the morrow.

The prompt advance of Twiggs to Ayotla, the brigade of dragoons of the famous Colonel Harney two miles farther in advance, and the brilliant reconnoissances of the two succeeding days impressed the enemy with the belief that the Peñon was to be attacked, and they lost no time in filling the place with troops, and putting in position formidable batteries of nearly forty guns.

In the movement around the lakes Worth was in the advance, followed by Pillow, Quitman, and Twiggs. The road was exceedingly bad and narrow, in many places a perfect defile, obstructed by cuts, stones from the hills in some cases formed into walls, and requiring great patience, energy, and perseverance for the passage of the trains.

The third day Worth reached San Augustin, General Scott and staff resting at Xochimilco with the divisions of Pillow, Quitman, and Twiggs respectively some five and ten miles in rear; no obstruction of moment occurring either in front or rear, unless we except a demonstration of a large force of lancers on the movement of General Twiggs's division from Ayotla, a demonstration brought speedily to a close by the opening of Taylor's battery.

Early the next morning, Wednesday, August 18, Scott joined Worth; developed his general plan of attack, and ordered the engineers immediately to make vigorous reconnoissances of the position and force of the enemy. He remarked, "To-day the enemy may feel us, to-morrow we must feel him."

Accordingly two reconnoissances were made, — one, of the position of San Antonio, three miles from San Augustin, on the great southern road to Mexico, conducted by Major Smith; the other, of the road to San Angel, turning the position of San Antonio, and bringing us to the next great and adjacent causeway to the west. This latter reconnoissance was conducted by Captain Lee.

The first reconnoissance was supported by the whole of Worth's division. Captain Mason had charge of one party, I had charge of the other. Whilst the whole party of engineer officers with a portion of the escort were examining the position of San Antonio within twelve hundred yards of its guns, and in the causeway itself, the enemy discharged his battery of two large brass 16-pounders, blowing to pieces the body of the gallant Captain Thornton, commanding the escort, and severely wounding an interpreter. The second reconnoitring party (that of Captain Lee) were brought into pretty close contact with a body of the enemy, whom they completely dispersed without any loss. Thus, the enemy felt us the first day. Pillow and Quitman had now come up to San Augustin (ten miles from Mexico), and Twiggs to Xochimilco, four miles in rear.

It was determined to move the main body on San Angel, Worth remaining in front of San Antonio, and by a vigorous combined movement forcing this position and advancing upon Tacubaya.

Accordingly, on Thursday Pillow and Twiggs were pushed forward over a most difficult road, requiring much labor to make it practicable for field-guns, and in full view of a large force of the enemy, who, divining our intentions from the reconnoissance of Wednesday, had intrenched himself in a strong position, barring our passage. As our troops approached, they were brought gallantly into action. Callender's howitzer battery was advanced to a very exposed position for the temporary purpose of driving in a picket, was not withdrawn in time, and, exposed to a formidable battery of twelve guns, was entirely cut up, its gallant commander receiving severe wounds in both legs. Magruder's battery of 12-pounders was in like manner advanced and cut up. These batteries were supported by Smith's brigade on the left, and the 9th infantry on the right. The 9th infantry I led across an open field, exposed to the enemy's grape, without the loss of a man. They advanced to a strong position in a ravine, which they maintained till dark.

Riley's brigade and the greater portion of Pillow's division were pushed forward against the enemy's right to cut him off from his reserves, and by a vigorous charge take him in flank and hurl him into the gorges of the mountains.

The whole field of approach was a perfect honeycomb of lava projections, entirely impracticable for horse and difficult for foot. Nothing was known of the ground. All the troops advanced with difficulty. That intrepid veteran, Riley, with his gallant brigade, pushed forward and encountered the enemy's lancers in large force, repulsing them in successive charges. He organized his brigade to charge the battery, but felt it his duty to await orders and support.

Smith, somewhat late in the day withdrawn from the right, reached a village on the left of the enemy's position, to which Riley had withdrawn, and was reinforced by the greater portion of Shields's and a portion of Pierce's brigade. An attack under the direction of Smith was organized, but could not be executed in consequence of the gathering shadows of the night.

At this moment, all offensive operations on our side having ceased and no impression made on the enemy's line, their reserves coming up in great force and bringing with them additional guns, cheer on cheer rose from their whole line, whilst on our part there was much gloom and despondency. Our commands were much scattered, our batteries had become disabled, and every one was overcome with the fatigues of the day. During the latter part of the day I was reconnoitring in the advanced position of the 9th infantry, and, not knowing the progress of the day in other parts of the field, returned to the rear for orders. I found General Pillow, who seemed somewhat perplexed with the posture of affairs, and gave me no orders till dark was coming on. I endeavored to find my way back, but could not succeed. I was so entirely exhausted that it was with the greatest difficulty that I could drag one foot after the other. Finally I fell upon a small party of rifles and 9th infantry, led by Lieutenant Foster, of the engineers, who were making good their retreat from a house somewhat higher up on the same stream with the position of the 9th infantry, and from which they had been expelled by a whole regiment of the enemy. On hailing the party, Foster recognized my voice, and I concluded to return with him, but so entirely worn down that I required his support. We made our way with great difficulty, occasionally meeting little parties of soldiers seeking their commands. It had already commenced raining. On passing near the place where I left my horse, I could not find him, and was obliged to pursue my way on foot. At length we reached some dragoons near the foot of a hill, where General Scott had placed himself to observe the field, and there learned that he had left half an hour before for San Augustin, three miles distant. I inquired for my horse, but could not find him. Foster kindly lent me his, and after waiting some half an hour I set out on my return to San Augustin in company with Captain Sibley's troop of dragoons.

On my way back my feelings were not desponding, but I was sad. The 9th infantry, called the New England regiment, who had gallantly followed my lead, and had occupied for hours an exposed position, I had not succeeded in bringing back to the place indicated by the general. I felt deeply my physical inability to support long-continued exertion. It seemed to me that I had abandoned a body of men who were relying on me. The regiment had acted nobly, and none more so than Pitman, acting as major. He was cool and intrepid throughout.

On my way home the rain poured in torrents much of the time. I overtook my intrepid friend Callender, whom some men of his company were carrying home on a litter. He seemed to be comfortable, and is now rapidly recovering from his wound.

On reaching my quarters, getting some supper, and changing my clothes, I went to see General Scott. He was surrounded by his personal staff, and was attentively listening to Captain Lee's account of the state of the field. Soon after, General Pillow and General Twiggs entered the room. Twiggs is a gray-haired veteran of sixty, large in person, of rather blunt address, and of little advantages of education, but possessing in an eminent degree decision of character, great sagacity as to men and events, and an aptitude for labor. He has the most splendid division in the service, the fruit in great measure of his own unwearied exertions. Captain Lee is an officer of engineers to whom I have before alluded, and one of my messmates. He is one of the most extraordinary men in the service. In the very prime of manhood, of remarkable presence and address, perhaps the most manly and striking officer in the service, of great grace of manner and great personal beauty, he has established an enduring reputation. His power of enduring fatigue is extraordinary, and his strength of judgment and perfect balance are conspicuous. For counsel, General Scott relies more upon him than any other man in the service.

I never shall forget that evening,—Captain Lee in calm, even, well-weighed words, giving a full view of the state of our force, suggesting the various methods of reëstablishing affairs, and proffering his own services and exertions to carry out the views of the general; Scott, composed, complacent, weighing every word he said, finding fault with no one's blunders, and taking in all cases the best view of things, indulging in no apprehensions, and exhibiting entire confidence in the ultimate event. At length General Twiggs and Captain Lee returned to the battlefield with full powers to retrieve affairs as their best judgment should dictate. It had been proposed by General Smith, one of Twiggs's brigadiers, to make a night attack upon the enemy's position, defended by twelve guns and five thousand of their best troops. Captain Lee's principal object in seeing the general was to procure his sanction. It was not denied. On returning to the field, all arrangements were made to carry it into execution.

My dear wife, I am spinning out a long letter, and I must be more brief. This night attack, in consequence of rain and the difficult nature of the ground, was not carried into execution till dawn of day. It was organized by General Smith. The reconnoissance of the route was made in the night by my friend Tower, of the engineers. The principal column of attack consisted of Riley's brigade led by Tower. Two other columns were pushed in the same general direction, one of which was commanded by our friend Major Dimick. In front a column was formed of the scattered commands, mostly new levies.

Riley's column pursued its way over slippery and uneven ground, crossing two deep ravines, halting from time to time to keep the command together. Finally it reached the brow of a hill in rear of the enemy's position, and was formed in two columns, just as the coming day disclosed them to the enemy. Immediately the charge was ordered, and the gallant brigade made its terrible charge, ably supported by the other columns. The contest was brief but decisive. In fifteen minutes one thousand dead and wounded of the enemy lay on the field, nearly a thousand more were taken prisoners, and the remainder were flying in all directions. Every one speaks in the most exalted terms of the conduct of Tower. Some say he led the brigade and did the whole work.

As for myself, broken down the evening before, greatly in need of rest, I complied with the advice of Major Smith and Captain Lee and remained in town, giving directions to my servant to be called at three, in order that I might return to the field to be in season for the fight. My servant did not wake me till five. One delay after another occurred, and I was finally detained by General Scott to conduct to the field a brigade of General Worth's command. We started and had got half way out, when information came of the brilliant success of the night attack, and the brigade was ordered back. I continued my way, and finally came across Tower very quietly eating his breakfast in company with Lieutenant Beauregard of our corps, who was also conspicuous in the same attack. I rode on, passed over the battlefield, reached the advance, and exchanged greetings with my friends of the 9th regiment, who had felt as anxious for me as I had for them. They informed me that they had withdrawn to a safe place about nine in the evening, and were engaged in the night attack. My friends of the 1st artillery, Major Dimick, Captains Capron, Burke, etc., I also shook warmly by the hand, and finally rode up to General Twiggs. I congratulated him on the brilliant victory achieved by his command. "General Smith deserves the whole credit, but it was my division," was his reply.

The order was soon given to advance upon the San Antonio road, General Twiggs in advance, the object being to cause the enemy to evacuate it and open the way for the advance of Worth. I accompanied the advance. We soon reached the village of Coyoacan, from which a picket of about two hundred lancers was expelled. There we halted till General Scott rode up. He proposed to wait half an hour to reconnoitre, determine the position of the enemy, and the proper mode of attack. General Worth had previously received orders not to attack the enemy till he heard the fire on the other line.

Calling for the engineer officers, Captain Lee was directed, after examining a prisoner, to communicate with General Worth at San Antonio, and I went to the steeple of the church to use my glass. I turned it upon the San Antonio road, and observed the enemy in full retreat, the causeway for more than a mile being filled with troops, pack-mules, and baggage-wagons. I immediately reported the fact to General Scott, who ordered Twiggs to advance, and directed me to accompany his division. Twiggs pushed on, and I went forward with the officers of the engineer company to reconnoitre. We came to a fork of a road. I took to the right, Lieutenant McClellan to the left. Mine passed directly in front of a strong building (a church), occupied in force by the enemy; his led directly to the building. At a little distance before me I saw the enemy in retreat, and we took one prisoner, who informed us that the place was defended by two guns.

My dear wife, perhaps I had not better at this time go into the details of the most terrible fight of the war, which now commenced. General Twiggs has said publicly that by my reconnoissance and efforts it was brought on, as regards his division. We all felt the strongest determination to fight the enemy, and put him to a perfect rout. At all events, it so happened that I was extremely active in pushing forward columns of attack, etc. Our friend Major Dimick's regiment I directed to its position. So with Taylor's battery. General Twiggs, in almost every case, agreed to my suggestions. By my efforts and those of the junior engineer officers, the troops were brought under fire and the battle commenced.

The veteran division of Twiggs, already engaged in two hard-fought battles, the desultory and galling conflict of the day before and the brilliant victory of the morning, exposed to the rains of the night, and the whole without the least rest from the wearisome march around Lake Chalco, came gallantly into action against the enemy, intrenched in a position of remarkable strength, — a bastioned field-work of high relief, wet ditches, armed with eight guns, some of large calibre, and protected by a church converted into a defensive building of great strength. Taylor, whom you knew in Newport, came into action in most gallant style, and opened his fire upon the enemy, driving him from the roof of the building. But so destructive was the return fire of the enemy behind his earthen breastworks that in a short time his battery was cut up, and he was obliged to withdraw, losing many men and horses, and two of his officers were wounded. Lieutenant Martin, formerly stationed in Newport, lost his arm. Riley opened his fire with great spirit and effect against the left; Smith's brigade, headed by our gallant engineer company, against the right. Worth, hearing our fire, hastened up his command, and attacked a strong bastioned field-work on the great San Antonio causeway, and a little in rear of the work attacked by Twiggs. The 6th infantry and Duncan's battery were conducted directly up the causeway. A terrible fire of grape temporarily checked the advance of the 6th, and compelled Duncan to put his battery under cover. An attack was directed, headed by the 2d artillery, to turn the left of the position. The whole command of

Worth was rushed to the attack, not in the most orderly manner, and the greatest gallantry was displayed by both officers and men. A continued blaze of fire proceeded from the extended line of the enemy, resting on the two field-works, and was returned with great spirit by both Twiggs and Worth. The roar of battle did not for a moment cease, and at times the stoutest hearts would quail.

In the mean time the brigades of Shields and Pierce, conducted by the intrepid Captain Lee, were directed around the enemy's right to get into his rear and cut off his retreat. The enemy appeared in such great force that it was with the greatest difficulty that the command could be brought to the attack. The gallant Colonel Butler, leading most nobly the Palmetto regiment, was shot dead, and Lieutenant-Colonel Dickinson was wounded. After exceeding effort they were made to charge the enemy, the causeway was gained, and his retreat cut off. In this action both Shields and Pierce were conspicuous for their gallantry, and the latter was wounded.

Previous to the attack of Worth, the work attacked by Twiggs had been nearly silenced by the destructive fire of his two gallant brigades, the gunners were shot down, and the guns were served only at intervals. Still the church held out, and the line in rear was not touched. Worth, after one repulse and at heavy loss, took by assault the work on the causeway, the guns of which, together with two from Duncan's battery, were opened upon the work attacked by Twiggs. Shields and Pierce had now cut the causeway. Seeing no hope of escape, the white flag was hung out, and immediately the division of Twiggs occupied the work, taking over one thousand prisoners, of whom three were general officers.

The panic was now universal. Our troops pushed forward on the great causeway, the dragoons in hot pursuit, sabring the enemy in their path. They fled in all directions. The gallant Captain Kearny charged up almost to the very walls of the city, receiving a severe wound in the arm, which rendered its amputation necessary.

This is a meagre account of this terrible fight, more protracted and severe than anything seen at the Resaca, at Monterey, or the Cerro Gordo. Our loss is great, some forty officers in killed and wounded, and over seven hundred rank and file; nearly half the officers of the 1st artillery were killed or wounded. Major Dimick commanded the regiment in three battles and escaped without a wound.

As I have before said, I was on duty with the division of Twiggs. This veteran was greatly exposed during the whole contest, and was conspicuous for his coolness and judgment. General Scott himself was wounded. The chief engineer, Major Smith, was also conspicuous for gallantry and good conduct. Our gallant engineer company nobly sustained its reputation as the first company in the service. At the close of the action General Scott rode over the whole field, speaking words of encouragement to the wounded, and addressing the several regiments as he passed them. On all sides he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. His words were the eloquence of the heart, and told with great effect.

General Scott and staff returned to San Augustin, some five miles from the battlefield, to pass the night. We were all greatly in need of rest. To our great satisfaction, on comparing notes it was found that not a single engineer officer had been touched, and only three soldiers of the company wounded.

Notwithstanding the great fatigues of the day, I slept little that night. The battlefield was before me with its scenes of terror and of blood. The gallant officers who fell haunted me. The loss of human life was appalling. I reflected that with less precipitation the works could have been carried with much less loss. I was precipitate like the rest, and felt in a measure culpable.

The next morning, after issuing the proper orders for the movements of the troops, — orders given verbally from his horse to his aides, and with admirable precision, — General Scott proceeded to the village of Coyoacan, and there met a white flag from the city. We then learned that consternation sat on that devoted place, and that her army of twenty-six thousand to thirty-two thousand men had become reduced to four thousand indifferent troops. The result of the white flag was the appointment of commissioners to treat of an armistice. This morning (Monday) the articles were duly signed, and there is now every prospect that the war has come to a close. The armistice is made by authority of the supreme government, and its avowed object is to negotiate a treaty of peace. This armistice provides generally that the two parties shall remain as they are. Hostilities are to cease within a circuit of twenty-eight leagues of the city, the guerrillas are to be withdrawn from the national road, and our communications are to be free with Vera Cruz.

Monday evening. I have sad news to-day. The first day of the armistice the Mexicans have commenced trifling with us. The armistice provided that our army should draw supplies from the city, and in consequence we commenced drawing specie in exchange for drafts. The Mexicans denied this construction of the article, and in consequence, at three o'clock, General Scott gave notice of the termination of the armistice (the articles guarantee forty-eight hours' notice). The Mexicans dare not again invoke the power of our arms, and will yield the point. But it looks bad.

Tuesday, August 24. The commissioners have met again to-day, and the articles have been modified to meet General Scott's views.

Thursday, August 26. Yesterday Santa Anna issued a proclamation referring to his great exertions to defend his country, and to the circumstances of the present crisis, and stating his conviction that an honorable peace would promote the best interests of his country. Accordingly to-day commissioners to negotiate a treaty of peace were appointed on his part, who are to meet our commissioner, Mr. Trist, to-morrow.

Friday, August 27. This has been a white day for me. The archbishop's palace is a very good place for the general and his personal staff. It has a splendid view from its top. But since our arrival it has been crowded with the general staff and with a company of dragoons. The courtyard was filled with horses, and the whole place was becoming filthy in the extreme. The chief engineer, Major Smith, and myself occupied a small, dirty room, which we used for a sleeping-room, an eating-room, and an office. Accordingly we determined to seek other quarters. After much inquiry, I fell to-day upon a splendid suite of apartments belonging to a judge in the City of Mexico, which I have secured, and am now occupying with Major Smith. We have a large parlor, dining-room, two large sleeping-rooms, a spacious kitchen, stable, and flower garden. As throughout all Mexico, our apartments extend to the rear, looking upon an open court, with one apartment only on the street. The house is of one story, and each window extends to the floor and opens upon the court. We feel quite comfortable in our new home. The corresponding suite of apartments on the opposite side of the court is occupied by the judge's clerks and law students. We have been much indebted in securing these apartments to the good offices of Mr. Jameson, a Scotch merchant of wealth in the City of Mexico, who resides in Tacubaya. He is our next-door neighbor, and will make a most pleasant acquaintance. Just opposite us, he is now building a most elegant mansion in the midst of a garden laid out in the English style. Last evening Mason and myself took a walk to the top of an eminence in rear of the palace, where we had a most beautiful view of the City of Mexico and its neighboring lakes. We both thought of Newport, and of the thousand delightful recollections that cluster around it. Mason is in fine health, and has greatly distinguished himself in the recent operations. We both hope to see Newport before the close of the year.

Saturday, August 28. To-day I have for once felt entirely recovered from the fatigues of the recent operations in the valley, and have twice mounted my horse, and to-morrow I think of going to the village of Mixcoac, some two and a half miles from this place, where Pillow's division is quartered. Captain Pitman is there with the 9th infantry. The colonel of this regiment, Ransom, is a very fine officer. I saw General Pierce to-day. He was not recovered from the effects of a fall from his horse on the battle-ground of the 19th instant, but was able to be about. He was not wounded, as I have before written. He is making a fine impression upon the whole service.

The casualties are much higher than any one anticipated, — over one thousand killed and wounded (about 1060). General Pierce's command suffered to the extent of about 160; General Cadwallader's, about 100; General Shields's, 200; General Worth's, 336; General Twiggs's, 260.

CHAPTER XI

MOLINO DEL REY. — CHAPULTEPEC. — CAPTURE OF CITY OF MEXICO. — RETURN TO UNITED STATES

The diary continues as follows: —

Saturday, August 21. General Scott and staff left San Augustin at eight o'clock; on his way to Coyoacan, he gave orders that Worth should move on Tacubaya, Pillow on Mixcoac, and Twiggs on San Angel; and at Coyoacan, he was met by commissioners from the city asking for a suspension of arms. It was granted as preliminary to an armistice to be concluded for the express purpose of negotiating a peace, and commissioners were to meet and adjust the terms of the armistice. The general proceeded with his staff, and took up quarters in the bishop's palace, on the slope ascending westward from Tacubaya, and about a mile and a half from Chapultepec. This palace is a favorite resort of Santa Anna, and affords an extended view of the whole valley of Mexico.

Sunday, August 22. Generals Quitman, Smith, and Pierce, American commissioners, met the Mexican commissioners, Villamil and Quijano, to adjust the terms of the armistice. After sitting through the night of the 22d and 23d, the instrument was perfected, and signed by General Scott and President Santa Anna. It provided generally that the belligerents should remain as they were; that hostilities should cease within a circuit of thirty leagues; that reinforcements to the American army should stop at Puebla; that there should be no interruption to supplies coming to the army from the city; and that the American army should remain without the city.

This armistice during the two or three subsequent days occasioned considerable discussion. The army generally felt a strong desire to enter the city as conquerors, and the foreigners of the city, somewhat numerous, fostered this feeling. It was generally agreed, however, by the most intelligent and reflecting, that General Scott had pursued a wise course. Our object was not to make a conquest, but to adjust the questions in dispute by a definite treaty of peace. We ought, therefore, to do nothing needlessly to humiliate them. Moreover, our entering the city would disperse the government, and there would be danger that the country would become the prey of factions, and that no party would have sufficient power to enter into treaty with. Such were the views of our commissioner, Mr. Trist.

August 23–September 1. During these thirteen days Commissioners Herrera and Mora, on the part of the Mexican government, have met Mr. Trist several times to negotiate the treaty. Thus far nothing has transpired to afford reasonable apprehension that hostilities will again be resumed. The appointment of the principal men of the peace party, Santa Anna's opponents, strengthens this belief. His own proclamation announcing the armistice strongly advocates peace. It is believed that, were Santa Anna firmly seated in power, the whole thing could be arranged in thirty days. Unfortunately, he depends almost entirely upon his army. At this very moment clouds are overshadowing the heavens in all directions: Almonte and Valencia have formed a coalition to the west; Paredes has returned from exile, and is now said to be in the neighborhood of Puebla; Alvarez is somewhere to the north; and a fourth faction is making head towards the south.

The Mexicans are great sticklers for forms, and, since the conclusion of the armistice, they have sent back our trains several times in consequence of some little ceremony having been omitted. The first train that entered the city was stoned by the populace, and there was some little difficulty experienced in getting the train out in safety. An apology was immediately made for the affront. But it was made the ground for suggesting that, for the safety of our people, the wagons should be loaded outside, and that our people should not enter the city. At this very moment there is no communication between the city and the residents of the villages occupied by our army.

I believe that with patience and firmness on our part, and the being content with the cession of New Mexico and New California, paying therefor an ample indemnity in money, we shall get peace. We may consider the relinquishment of the Mexican claims to the territory east of the Rio Grande as the indemnity for the expenses of the war.

September 6, 7. All our hopes have been doomed to disappointment. General Scott, in consequence of the violation of the third and seventh articles of the armistice on the part of the Mexicans, terminated the armistice to-day at twelve o'clock, and the ball is to be reopened. God grant that a similar sacrifice may not be required of us as at Churubusco!

MOLINO DEL REY.[1]

September 8. At daybreak an attack was made on the enemy's position at the foundry, and after a most terrific engagement of two hours the position was carried, but with a loss of six hundred killed and wounded in Worth's division alone. In addition to his command, Cadwallader's brigade was engaged. The enemy was in a position of immense strength, their left resting on Chapultepec and the foundry, their right on a ravine, a continuous breastwork covering their front.

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[1] The hill of Chapultepec, famed as the ancient country-seat of the Montezumas, rose some two miles outside the city, and was crowned by a strong castle. An extensive grove of huge and hoary cypresses clothed its slopes and stretched half a mile westward, the whole surrounded by a solid wall of masonry. Molino del Rey, the King's Mill, a group of stone build-

The attack was opened by two 24-pounders on the walls of the foundry, upon which an assaulting column of five hundred men picked from Worth's division, organized in companies of one hundred men and commanded by Major Wright, deployed and advanced upon the enemy's line. The right, led by Lieutenant Foster with ten sappers and ten pioneers carrying crowbars and axes, moved on the foundry; the left, led by Captain Mason, on the enemy's battery of four guns. The enemy were driven from their lines, but immediately retook them, every officer of the assaulting column being killed or wounded save two. Captain Mason had a flesh wound in the thigh; Lieutenant Foster one in the leg, breaking the bone. The right of the assaulting column having maintained its position under cover of the foundry, the reserves of Garland and Clarke were promptly brought up, and after a desperate conflict the enemy was driven to the rear of Chapultepec, and the whole position fell into our hands.

Drum's battery of two 6-pounders supported Garland on the right, and with two rounds of canister drove the enemy from his battery. It was then pushed forward three hundred yards beyond support, opening its fire and driving the enemy before it, but was finally recalled.

ings, stood at the foot of the grove, and the Mexican line of defenses extended thence to a strong work, the Casa Mata, and far beyond it. It was reported that the enemy had a gun foundry in Molino, and General Scott determined to capture it.

Duncan on the left supported Clarke's brigade, and drove the enemy, who was advancing, back to and out of the right of his lines. The dragoons under Major Sumner turned the right flank, causing a large body of lancers to retire under cover of a village to the left.

I reconnoitred the ground to our left, and estimated the lancers to be from one to two thousand.

The attack had simply for its object the destruction of the foundry (which did not exist; at least, no boring apparatus or furnaces could be found), and the position was finally abandoned. The battle was entirely without results; two or three additional victories of the same kind would annihilate our army. It has filled all hearts with sadness. Colonel Scott, Captain Merrill, Captain Ayres, Captain Armstrong, and others have fallen. Among those most lamented is the gallant Colonel Graham, who fell gallantly leading the 11th regiment to the charge. Lieutenant Burwell, wounded in the assault, was barbarously murdered by the enemy by a lance in the head.

Duncan's efficiency was diminished in consequence of the precipitate charge of Clarke's brigade on the Casa Mata, masking his fire. A well-directed fire of roundshot from his battery would have driven the enemy from that strong position, and thus saved us many valuable lives sacrificed in taking it by the bayonet. There was great difficulty in reconnoitring the position without bringing on a general action. More guns should have been brought into action. It was more a case for artillery than for the bayonet. An attempt should have been made to reconnoitre the enemy's right, with a view of sending round a column and taking his line in flank and rear.

The loss to Worth's division was greater in this action than the English loss at the assault of Badajos.

On the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th, in consequence of the occupation of the church of Piedad by our troops, and the pushing of the reconnoissances in that direction, the enemy was exceedingly active in fortifying that front of the city from the gate of Belen to that of Las Vegas, and even prepared cuts in the road leading to Istacalco on the canal. On the 10th they had a very respectable battery in position, and were in expectation that the attack would be made in that direction.

CHAPULTEPEC.

At a council of war at La Piedad on the 11th, it was determined to establish batteries against Chapultepec, and carry it by assault, then to operate against the city as circumstances should dictate. This was General Scott's proposition, and was concurred in generally by the officers present at the council. Accordingly, on the night of the 11th–12th batteries were commenced, one for two 18-pounders and one 8-inch howitzer on the road leading to Chapultepec, and one for one 24-pounder and one 8-inch howitzer near the foundry. These batteries opened their fire about eight A. M. on the 12th, Quitman's division supporting on the right, Pillow's on the left. About 2.30 P. M. a third battery, one 18-pounder, one 8-inch howitzer, and one mortar, was prepared also near the foundry.

The fire was returned with some spirit, and about eight A. M. on the 13th the order was given to commence the assault.

Chapultepec stands boldly out two miles from the City of Mexico, an eminence two hundred feet high, having on its summit an irregular work with a stone scarp ten feet high, the whole defended by the strong stone building used as a military college.

At the southwestern foot of the height is the venerable cypress grove of the age of Montezuma, extending to within four hundred yards of the mill whence Pillow was to direct the assault of his command. At its eastern base was a formidable battery sweeping the causeway of approach in the direction of Quitman's command, the aqueduct and stone buildings affording cover to troops.

It was known, from a daring reconnoissance made by General Quitman on the afternoon of the 12th, that the enemy were in the occupancy of this base of Chapultepec, five thousand strong.

Quitman, with a select storming party from Twiggs's division two hundred and fifty strong, commanded by Captain Casey and supported by Smith's brigade, was to attack on the right, carrying the formidable position reconnoitred by him on the 12th, and thence sweeping up the hill to enter the citadel itself. Pillow, supported by Worth's whole division with a select storming party from that division, headed by the gallant Captain McKensie, 2d artillery, was to break through the cypress grove, charge up the hill, and pour his men into the work in conjunction with Quitman.

At eight o'clock the commands advanced. In Pillow's attack, the Voltigeurs, with Callender's howitzer battery, ran forward, and, charging the wood, soon cleared it of the enemy's skirmishers. His whole command now pushed forward with such unexpected vigor that, before the storming party could pass them to take the lead, the whole brow of the hill was covered by a dense body of men, who, finding cover behind rocks and in the inequalities of the ground, steadfastly maintained its position, swaying slightly in the effort to get better cover whilst endeavoring to advance. There they hung, like a cluster of bees, whilst a tremendous fire of artillery opened upon them from the work. The storming party with their ladders now pressed forward; soon they were planted, the gallant McKensie, with his hat on his sword, pressed forward, drawing after as by strings the whole command, who in a moment overleaped the work and drove the gunners down the eastern slope, where a fierce conflict still raged on the part of Quitman.

Quitman, at the preconcerted signal, moved forward the select storming party from Twiggs's division, a light battalion under the gallant Major Twiggs, and a select storming party of forty marines under Captain Reynolds in the advance, followed by the Maine battalion, the South Carolina, New York, and Pennsylvania volunteers.

The brigade of Smith was in the adjoining field on the right, and had assigned to it the duty of breaking through the aqueduct and taking the enemy in flank and rear. The command moved up the causeway, under a tremendous fire of artillery and musketry, till they reached some old buildings of adobe, where they were obliged to get a momentary shelter. From this position, a company of the rifles and portions of the storming parties being still further in advance, they opened an effective fire in return. As the volunteer regiments came up, they were turned off into the open field on the left, intersected with ditches, to the assault of Chapultepec.

The New Yorkers and Pennsylvanians made a detour to the left, and entering the cypress grove at an abandoned breastwork where some fifteen minutes previously portions of Pillow's command had entered, pressed forward and became intermingled with Pillow's command as it poured into the work, as did the Palmettoes, who pierced the stone wall at a partial breach made by a cannon-ball without scarcely varying from their direction.

Smith in his advance, finding two wide and deep ditches in his front without any adequate means to cross them, and his force too small to force the passage in presence of the immense force of the enemy, veered to the left, and sheltering his troops partially by maguey plants, opened a well-directed fire upon the enemy in conjunction with the storming parties and marines on the causeway.

Meanwhile Drum's battery, a 9-pounder and a 16-pounder, came up and opened on the enemy, as did Hunt's section of Drum's battery.

For half an hour the contest was of unparalleled severity. Our troops, however, pressed forward, and, Chapultepec having fallen, the enemy fled to the city along the Tacubaya causeway, and a causeway entering the San Cosme causeway at the English cemetery, some six hundred yards outside the garita, yet not till some of the most resolute of their troops had maintained their posts even to the interlocking of bayonets and clubbing of rifles.

Quitman on the Tacubaya causeway, the rifles and 1st artillery of Smith's brigade in advance, Worth on the San Cosme causeway, pressed forward in pursuit of the enemy.

Aqueducts supplying the city with water extended along both these causeways, resting on arches that afforded partial shelter to troops. The causeway of Tacubaya led directly into the city, and with a strong fieldwork midway was defended at the gate by another formidable battery, by the strong work of the citadel three hundred yards distant, and by cross-fires from a formididable battery on the paseo leading from the San Cosme to the Belen suburb, and on both sides were almost impassable ditches filled with water.

The San Cosme suburb extended even beyond the English cemetery, where there was a formidable fieldwork sweeping the main Cosme causeway and the causeway from Chapultepec. At the gate, and two hundred yards without, were two batteries for two guns each.

Quitman pushed forward his command with unexampled vigor. The rifles and 1st artillery in advance, closely followed by the Palmettoes, marines, and the remainder of the volunteer division, were in close contact with the enemy till possession was effected of the garita at twenty minutes past one. In this contest Drum's battery, assisted by Captain Winder's company of the 1st artillery as a fatigue party, was served with a vigor and enthusiasm unparalleled in this war. The iron men of Drum pushed it into the very teeth of the enemy's fire, and made it send forth an iron hail that drove the enemy from all his positions, even the garita itself. Drum paused not at the garita. With a sublime devotion, he marched boldly up to the very citadel itself, and fell mortally wounded, together with his gallant lieutenant, Benjamin, two thirds of his company being disabled. In command of a battery only three weeks, he fell universally lamented, the first artillerist of the army.

The temporary pause in the pursuit on the capture of the garita, considered indispensable to get the command in hand in order to proceed against the enemy, who was still in force, gave time to reassure the troops at the citadel, who were at one moment struck with a panic, and on the eve of evacuating the position. Notwithstanding the heroic conduct of Drum and the gallantry of the rifles and Palmettoes, the terrible fire which was soon opened from that work and the battery on the paseo compelled Quitman to withdraw his troops to the shelter of the garita, where they sustained the tremendous fire of the enemy till nightfall.

The command of Worth, on the fall of Chapultepec, boldly pushed forward to the San Cosme suburb, Garland's brigade and Magruder's battery in front. A smart encounter was had with a considerable body of the enemy's lancers, who were charging down the causeway. Magruder was vigorously pushing forward his guns, ably supported by the troops, and the battery at the English cemetery was about to fall into our hands, when the whole command was halted. Worth, on arriving at a cross-road leading to the Tacubaya cemetery, was attracted by the tremendous contest going on there, and in consequence halted his command to be in condition to lend a hand to Quitman in case of his being sorely pressed. Timely assistance was rendered by Duncan's battery, which contributed materially to Quitman's success. Meanwhile a reconnoissance by the engineers showed that the enemy had no artillery in position at the cemetery, that the infantry force there was not formidable, and the lancers hanging on the flanks were not worthy of regard. Soon the order was given to charge the works. Our troops pressed in, driving the enemy before them and with little loss, and pressed forward to the batteries at the garita and in advance. Worth, on his arrival at the suburb about half past twelve o'clock, finding that a continuous row of stone buildings put it in our power to make a permanent lodgment, and reduce the contest to the crowbar and pickaxe without exposing the lives of the men, recalled the troops, and awaited the arrival of the ordnance and engineer trains.

A reconnoissance having shown that the first battery could easily be carried and with little loss, the enemy was driven from it, and Hunt's section was put in position behind it, and made to open on the enemy's battery of two guns at the garita. But he was soon compelled to put his battery under cover in consequence of the superior metal of the enemy.

At four the trains arrived, and immediately the troops, armed with the proper tools, commenced making their way from house to house. One party, headed by the engineer company, reaching the top of a high building, forty yards from the garita, opened fire upon the enemy at the guns at the very moment a similar fire was opened from a party on the other side of the street led by the gallant McKensie. The enemy was driven from the garita, but took away one of their guns. At nightfall Worth's whole command was lodged in the suburb, his advance within twelve hundred yards of the Alameda.

During the night Quitman, in the erection of batteries and infantry covers, was making every preparation to renew the contest in the morning and to carry his attack into the heart of the city.

The enemy, however, withdrew their troops, and at seven o'clock Quitman's command entered the citadel, and, pushing forward to the main plaza, the marines cleared the palace of the leperos, or thieves, who were infesting it, and hoisted the star-spangled banner from its summit.

General Scott, who had been the master spirit of the whole operations, originating the plan of attacking Chapultepec, giving the order when the time had come to make the assault, from the extended position of Chapultepec ordering the movements upon the causeways, supporting each by an adequate force, and on a lodgment being effected in the Cosme suburb ordering the resort to the crowbar and the refraining from the bayonet,—General Scott at eight o'clock issued his orders from the national palace announcing his occupation of the capital of Mexico.

Still, a desultory contest was kept up throughout the day from the houses of the city by an intermingled body of soldiers and leperos led on by officers of the army. Scott took the most decided means to stop it, and ordered every house to be blown up from which a hostile shot should be fired. At night the city was tranquil and in the undisturbed possession of our troops.

Thus the crowning glories of Chapultepec and of the gates of San Cosme and Belen placed us in the undisputed possession of the City and valley of Mexico. The public force of the enemy, dispirited and demoralized, paused two or three days at Guadalupe and divided: Santa Anna with a portion repairing to Puebla to try his fortunes against Childs, the governor of that place, and to watch his opportunity to fall upon our reinforcements coming up from Vera Cruz; the remainder, a disorderly rabble, repairing to Queretaro, where the government was to be temporarily established.

The casualties to the American arms in this valley have been immense, — 2703 out of a force of 10,737, over one fourth, equal to the English loss at the siege of Badajos.

General Scott's movement against Chapultepec was masterly, and in his plans he was well seconded by his generals. The removal of the depot to Mixcoac, the concentration of the troops at La Piedad, and the reconnoissances in that direction, impressed the enemy with the belief that that point of the city was to be attacked; nor were they undeceived till the very last moment, fully believing that the operations against Chapultepec were only a feint.

In the attack upon Chapultepec General Quitman's arrangements are open to criticism. His select storming party intended for the assault of Chapultepec, and armed with ladders to scale and implements to break through the walls, were kept on the causeway; whereas the whole volunteer force was sent in that direction, wholly unprovided in every particular, and that, too, at too late a period to be of much essential assistance, and in a direction which made it necessary to fall in with Pillow's command, already supported in great strength by the whole of Worth's division. The consequence was that General Smith found himself too weak to break through the enemy's force at the aqueduct and take him in flank and rear. Had Smith been preceded by the storming party provided with plank to cross the ditches, and supported by two of the volunteer regiments, the slaughter of the enemy must have been immense, and large numbers must have been taken prisoners. The marines with their storming party, the light battalion, and one of the volunteer regiments with Drum's battery would have been in place to encounter the enemy on the causeway.

At the garita Drum's battery and the Palmettoes were pushed forward under the guns of the citadel, and large numbers were uselessly sacrificed.

On the whole, however, General Quitman exercised good judgment, and gave proof of extraordinary vigor, intrepidity, and firmness. And he deserves the greatest credit for his perfect mastery of his command.

General Pillow's dispositions were good and well executed, excepting that the storming party did not move in season, in consequence of which the supporting force, pressing onward, gained the brow of the hill in dense masses, and were there detained some little time awaiting the storming party with their ladders, who in their turn found great difficulty in pushing their way through to the front, which only a small portion succeeded perfectly in doing.

General Worth, in his attack upon the city, unnecessarily delayed his advance to succor Quitman. Quitman was to be most effectually relieved by the vigorous attack of Worth on his own line. On the arrival of the trains, however, he proceeded with great judgment and efficiency, and his attack alone, in consequence of being able to work from house to house, must have of itself put the city into our hands. Had it not been for Worth's vigorous movement towards nightfall, bringing him well into the city, the enemy would not have abandoned the citadel to Quitman without a severe struggle.

Twiggs's command did not have the prominence as a division that it had at Contreras and Churubusco in consequence of the brigades being separated. Smith's brigade did good service in conjunction with Quitman, and Riley at La Piedad kept the enemy in check during the storming of Chapultepec, and, afterwards joining Worth, did good service in the streets on the 14th.

The engineers did good service during all their operations at Molino del Rey. Captain Mason made a most daring and successful examination of the front of the enemy's position, and in the attack on the 8th was signally gallant, but the result showed that the right of the enemy should have been more particularly examined. The character of his defenses at this point was never known till our troops, in the full tide of battle, were hurled against them, to be repulsed with the loss of nearly half their number.

Without shining talents, and without any remarkable decision or independence of character, Captain Lee has rendered signal service on this line. Laborious, constant, firm, of good judgment, patient, and guarded in his conduct, of popular manners and address, he has been a safe counselor, and always efficient in the discharge of duty. Distinguished at Vera Cruz, the Cerro Cordo, and in this valley, both before and subsequent to the armistice, he continued at his post to the last moment, even when oppressed with illness and great physical fatigue. After the storm of Chapultepec he received a severe contusion in the thigh, which disabled him for the day.

Lieutenant Beauregard is one of the finest soldiers in our corps. Of great strength, accomplished in all manly exercises, well read in his profession, and of forcible and independent character, much self-reliance and confidence, he has established a good reputation throughout the service. On the day of the storm of Chapultepec, although struck several times and twice severely, he maintained his post, and in the night supervised the erection of the batteries and infantry covers, from which Quitman was to open his fires upon the citadel in case the enemy had continued the conflict on the following day.

Lieutenant Tower, for judgment, for an assured and natural self-reliance, great force of character, and great decision and intrepidity in emergencies, has no superior in our corps. Indefatigable at Vera Cruz and the Cerro Gordo, he was eminently distinguished at Contreras. Subsequent to the armistice he was efficient in the discharge of his duties, and the engineer officer of Quitman on the day of the storm of Chapultepec; he was remarkably intrepid under the fire of the enemy, and was at his post till a severe wound in the head compelled him to withdraw.

Lieutenant Smith, in command of the engineer company, has rendered the most distinguished service. He has shown great power of command. The engineer company has rendered the most distinguished service. The engineer company devolved upon him in a state of great despondency and discontent on the part of the men. By his judicious management he breathed into it the breath of life, raised the spirits of the men, and inspired them with hope and confidence. In his hands the company has acquired a great reputation in the service.

His lieutenants, McClellan and Foster, are both brave, intrepid, efficient, and devoted to duty. At Molino, Foster was dangerously wounded in the leg.

But perhaps no officer of engineers has rendered more brilliant service than Captain Mason. Of remarkable intellectual force, great quickness of apprehension, highly cultivated, an ambitious student, and frank and honest in his life, on the field of battle, in a reconnoissance of the enemy's position, indeed in every emergency, he has been conspicuous for force, rapid decision, and the most daring intrepidity.

In my own case, delicate health has much diminished my efficiency. Our long rest in Puebla did something towards restoring my strength, and I entertained the hope that it would prove equal to any emergency. I rode in an ambulance to Buena Vista, and subsequently from Ayotla to San Augustin. My reconnoissance of the Peñon, in which I was employed seven hours in mud and water, and within almost point-blank range of the enemy's guns, was highly satisfactory to General Scott. On the 19th, at Contreras, I was too much exhausted and in too delicate health to remain on the field exposed to the rain. I in consequence returned to San Augustin, and was not present in the splendid attack of General Smith on Valencia's intrenched camp. At Churubusco I was the senior engineer officer of Twiggs's division. At the close of that day I was almost wholly prostrated by my exertions, and I had not renewed the strength with which I left Puebla on the termination of the armistice. At Molino del Rey I accompanied the reserves to the field, and on Mason and Foster becoming disabled from wounds, did duty during the remainder of the action. Subsequently, in conjunction with Beauregard and Tower, I reconnoitred the southern front of the city. In consequence of physical exhaustion I was not assigned to duty in the establishing of batteries against Chapultepec, but on the day of the 13th was on duty till I was wounded, in the San Cosme suburb, about half past one o'clock.

September 13. At half past one o'clock I was wounded in the foot, whilst posting a picket at a little work at a village some five hundred yards beyond the English cemetery. Dr. De Lein cut out the ball. It struck close to the little toe, and crossing over a little obliquely to the rear, was cut out just in front of the instep. The bones are fractured and the tendons lacerated. About half past three o'clock I was taken to Tacubaya in an ambulance, and in the evening Dr. Barnes dressed my wound.

September 14. I was removed to the city this day, and placed in comfortable quarters in the palace. I suffered some little pain last night and through the day. I owe many thanks to Major Smith for his unwearied kindness.

September 15. To-day I am relieved of pain, though last night I got but indifferent rest. Dr. Barnes attends me, and has commenced applying poultices.

September 17. Dr. Barnes, on examining my wound this morning, observed, in a manner that showed he was relieved of much anxiety, "I can save the foot."

September 18–30. During this period my wound has done famously. I have been in no pain whatever. News has come of large reinforcements pouring in from below, and many expect them to reach Mexico as early as the 10th proximo. It seems to me we cannot reasonably expect their arrival till the 20th or 30th proximo.

Santa Anna, some few days after our entrance, abdicated the presidency in favor of the chief justice, Peña y Peña, and announced his intention to go to Puebla, organize a force, and operate against Childs and reinforcements coming up from below. No one here is much apprehensive of the result.

The general has found it necessary to issue stringent orders in regard to assassinations of men, and to enforce the utmost vigilance on the part of our guards. In some of the regiments the police is bad, and the guards totally neglectful of their duty.

A large city is ruinous to the *morale* of troops. The officers in our army spend the nights at the gambling-houses (tigers), and the men indulge in women and drink as long as their money lasts.

A camp of instruction alone affords the means of putting troops in a high state of discipline and efficiency. Yet the occupation of cities has great advantages. The residents become familiar with our character and customs, and friendly relations grow up.

October 1. This day I have sat up the first time, — a most agreeable change from the recumbent posture. We hear news from below that Childs has been severely pressed. Here, we are firmly of opinion that he cannot be driven from his post. It is hoped and believed that no troops will march up from below except in a strong column, four to six thousand men. A small body might tempt the enemy. He might fall upon it with a large force and gain some success.

October 2–11. Rumors accumulate in reference to Santa Anna's attack on Puebla. From all accounts, his troops are of poor quality, and he is not on the best terms with his subordinates. My wound is doing exceedingly well, and I have at length found an opportunity to write to my wife and father by way of Tampico.

October 12–24. My wound has been doing badly, and my general health has been poor. For several days the foot became much inflamed, and poultices had to be applied. The new flesh has sloughed off, and the process of granulation has to be gone over again. At the present time my wound is doing well, and the fever or flux, which has threatened me for many days, I have nearly driven off.

November 1. A train of six hundred wagons departed for Vera Cruz with a large number of wounded officers and men, on their return to the States; Generals Quitman and Shields, Colonels Garland, Andrews, and Morgan, Major Smith, and other distinguished officers being of the number.

General Quitman leaves behind him the most enviable reputation. Courteous in deportment, just in conduct, a man of business devoted to his duty, he is second to no commander of division in this army. As a military man he is said to be well informed, and to understand well the principles of his profession. He has extraordinary vigor, courage, and coolness, and he has exhibited great ability in the management of the volunteer division.

General Shields has all the dashing and enthusiastic bravery peculiar to the Irish race. There is no braver man in our army. Since entering the military service he has assiduously studied his profession, and is fast rising as a military man.

November 2. Yesterday and to-day have been festival (All Saints') days. Word came from Colonel Childs that General Lane on the 29th set out from Puebla with a column to meet the train, and that General Patterson left Vera Cruz with five thousand men. There is still an impression that General Patterson will assume the command, and that General Scott will be recalled. But I discredit it entirely. Very few cases of stabbing now occur.

On the departure of Major Smith, with whom I have messed nearly the whole time I have been in the country, I find myself entirely alone. Colonel Watson (in command of Shields's brigade) and staff occupied adjoining rooms, and we made a very pleasant little circle. Colonel Watson is a candid, sensible, and good man. I esteem him highly. Lieutenant Baker is a gentleman of much intelligence, considerable acuteness, and of the most friendly feelings. They are now all gone, and I am now installed in Colonel Watson's apartment. I am in a spacious room, with three large windows hung in damask looking on the street, and having at one extremity a raised platform, carpeted, and canopied with damask. Here I have my bed, my table, and my armchair, as comfortable as all the world. Indeed, I now very much feel as if I were in the halls of the Montezumas. My brother officers have most kindly offered to do all they can for me.

November 3. Since the departure of the train the weather has been beautiful. Captain Naylor this morning very summarily dispelled my dreams of luxuriating in the halls of the Montezumas by saying that the room I now occupied was needed for a commission, and that he must ask me to remove to my old quarters. As they were exceedingly damp and uncomfortable, and totally unfit for an invalid, Captain Lee referred the matter to General Smith, the governor of the city, who decided that I should not be moved till a suitable room could be provided.

Captain Naylor is an enthusiast on the subject of the regeneration of Mexico through American intervention. As superintendent of the archives, he avails himself of his opportunities to understand this people. They are undoubtedly degenerating. The cities are falling into decay; the mechanic arts do not improve; misrule and anarchy have long been the every-day experience of this unfortunate people. In the City of Mexico not a new house has been built for years, and many structures are crumbling into ruins.

November 4. My friends, Captains Lee, Power, and Hardcastle, give glowing accounts of the scenic representations at the Santa Anna theatre, — more perfect in the mechanical contrivances, and more splendid in effect, than anything to be seen in our own country. I regretted to learn that Captain Lee's man Peter was murdered in Ayotla after the arrival of the train on the evening of the 1st instant.

The officers are hard at work at their drawings, and hope to finish them against my going down in the next train.

November 11. During the past few days I have been ill and well again, — a bad cold and the wound inflamed. The doctor, however, still confines me to my room. He considers that rest is necessary to prevent my foot's inflaming.

Information has come that General Patterson, on the 27th ultimo, left Vera Cruz. He will probably require twenty days to reach Puebla, and some twelve days more to make his arrangements there and his journey to Mexico. I shall not, therefore, look for a mail before the 17th instant.

November 14. Nothing of interest has occurred in the city. Anaya is said to have been elected provisional president. A piece of leather of the size of half a tlaco came from my wound to-day. It was cut out of my shoe by the ball and carried into my foot.

November 15. A general order was published to-day announcing the determination of the general to bring to trial and punishment all officers who shall, contrary to regulations, furnish for publication accounts of operations in the field, and censuring in the severest terms the authors of "Leonidas" and of the Tampico letter in the "North American."

November 16. Colonel Duncan, in a letter breathing defiance to the general, announced himself as the author of the Tampico letter, and exonerated General Worth from all knowledge even of its having been written till it was well on its way. It was not written for publication, Colonel Duncan avers. Colonel Duncan was arrested in consequence of these matters.

November 18. The long-expected train arrived to-day, bringing me three letters from my dear wife, and news of my little family being in excellent health. Mr. Trist has been recalled, and it seems to be the determination of the government to abandon all attempts to negotiate a peace, and to prosecute the war unto the occupation of the whole country.

November 20. Much to my delight, I mounted my crutches to-day and moved about my room.

November 21. I made a call on my friend Major Kirby, and met several of my acquaintances.

November 22. To-day I got as far as the engineer office. General Pillow is in arrest.

December 4. Went into the streets to-day and was much rejoiced to be relieved from confinement. Called to see my friend Foster, and found him doing nicely.

December 5. Went to the theatre, and was charmed with Cañete. My friends had spoken of her in glowing terms, and I went prepared to find her overrated. She is remarkably natural, chaste, and graceful in all her impersonations, and I do not wonder that she is so very popular with the whole world of theatre-going people.

December 9. The train finally got off to-day, and proceeded as far as Venta Nueva. Foster and myself have a tolerable ambulance assigned to us. We got off late, the last wagons not leaving the city till towards noon. The mules were a good deal fagged, and the train will not probably get down so soon by two days in consequence of the length of this day's march. Distance, main plaza to Ayotla, fourteen miles.

December 10. Proceeded to Rio Frio. Here I met my classmate, Colonel Irvin, in command of the 5th Ohio regiment. The night was quite cold, and, not finding a room, we were obliged to sleep in an ambulance.

December 11. This day went to San Martin, where we found some excellent pulque. Distance, fifteen miles.

December 12. Reached Puebla. Distance, twenty miles.

1847. The diary ends here.

Lieutenant Stevens's wound was far more serious than he, in his cheerful way of making the best of everything, admitted. The ball ploughed across the bridge of the foot, breaking nearly all the bones. At first the surgeons were extremely doubtful of saving the foot. The wound was slow in healing, and the foot never fully recovered its strength and usefulness. Three times, at intervals of one or two years, the wound opened and expelled pieces of bone. For many years he had to wear a special shoe with extra-thick sole.

The chief of the robbers who served as spies for General Scott, a man of striking presence and romantic though blood-stained career, known as Don Juan el Diablo (Don John the Devil), formed a strong attachment to Lieutenant Stevens, and took care of him during a great part of his sickness, and was devoted and unwearied in his attentions to the wounded officer.

St. Charles, New Orleans, December 28, 1847.

My dearest Wife, — I have just reached this city after a four days' passage from Vera Cruz, and a twenty days' journey in all from the City of Mexico. I am in splendid health, although my wound still keeps me on crutches. We are all going up the river to-morrow, and I am full of the most blissful anticipations at the idea of seeing you, the children, and friends. You will not see me for eight or ten days after the receipt of this. I shall be obliged to stay in Washington some days. Love to friends, and to Hazard and Sue. I hope to see you soon.

Yours affectionately,

Isaac.

CHAPTER XII

HEROES HOME FROM THE WAR

WASHINGTON, January 23, 1848.

MY DEAREST MARGARET, — At the strong desire of the colonel, I must remain here a few days longer. He wishes me to go with him over all the reports in order to get at all the facts in relation to the services of the engineer officers in the recent campaign of Mexico. I am able to afford many explanations of the reports, presenting in a stronger light the services of our officers, which will enable the colonel to present a strong case to the Secretary in matters of brevets.

The colonel and his family have been very cordial to me, and nothing could be more grateful than the high appreciation they have for the services of our officers. The colonel takes great pride in the distinction which our corps has acquired. Indeed, the services of the engineers have been so conspicuous that the corps has become popular. Every one knows that the engineers have important functions in the field.

I have paid my respects to the President and Secretary, and was highly gratified with my interview. The Secretary had a half hour's leisure, and I took the opportunity to express my sense of the great ability, wisdom, and patriotism of General Scott. The Secretary has the highest admiration for his military achievements, and is indeed a just and judicious friend to the service.

I am boarding at Mrs. Janney's with my old friends, Gilmer and Woodbury. Woodbury married Miss Childs, a very pleasant lady. Her mother is also boarding at the same place, a highly intelligent person, and the wife of Colonel Childs, distinguished for his defense of Puebla.

You may be sure I am very impatient to see you and my little ones. Nothing but a sense of duty to my brother officers, who are absent in the field, could have induced me to remain.

I hope to reach Newport within the week, certainly by next Sunday morning.

Affectionate remembrances to friends, and love, much love, to my Hazard and Susan.

Yours most affectionately,
Isaac.

My health is splendid, my wound improving.

The enforced visit to Washington was not without pleasant features. He was received with the gratifying attentions due an officer just from the seat of war, who had distinguished himself for gallantry and conduct, and enjoyed the congenial duty of explaining the military operations to his chief, and aiding in securing for his absent comrades the honors and rewards they had so well earned. A letter of February 6 from his friend, Captain Foster, is of interest in this connection: —

"On arriving at Washington I went immediately to Mrs. Janney's. There I heard of you. They all spoke very highly of you, particularly Mr. Robbins, who was very much interested in you. I dined at Colonel Totten's on Wednesday, and Mrs. T. told me all about your being here. They all paid you some very fine compliments. Mrs. T. said she gained more information from Mr. Stevens than from *all* the other officers who had come from Mexico, your manner of speaking of men and things was so frank and just. Miss Kate said she was *delighted* with Mr. Stevens; he was correct and reliable in all he said. The colonel seemed glad to see me, and proud of the reputation of his corps. The result of all this, I hope, will be that he will give us two brevets, make you a major in charge of a work, and send me as your assistant. . . . It made me right jealous to hear the flatteries that the ladies at Mrs. Burr's bestowed on the 'gallant Mr. Stevens.'"

It was a joyful reunion when he reached Newport, and enfolded his dearly loved wife and little ones in his arms. A fortnight later he visited Andover, and one may imagine how his father, brother Oliver, and cousins and fellow townsmen received the soldier, returned on crutches, with open arms, and lionized him to the full. The country had been at peace for thirty years, and the returning soldiers from Mexico, especially the wounded officers, were received with mingled feelings of awe and admiration. Writes a brother officer, "The boys look at me around the corner, remarking, 'I see him.' 'There he goes.' 'The man that 's been to Mexico.'"

NEWPORT, R. I., February 28, 1848.

MY DEAR FATHER, — We reached Newport about half past eight o'clock in the evening the same day we left Andover. I am now in my office, and am devoting some six hours each day to official matters. My wound is improving; I go about the house with a cane simply, and through the streets with one crutch and a cane. In one month, or at least in two months, I hope to be able to dismiss my crutches entirely.

I hope in all sincerity that our difficulties with Mexico are in the way of a permanent adjustment. The general opinion is that the Senate will ratify the treaty. The only difficulty (and one which in my opinion is much to be apprehended) is that Mexico, in consequence of a pronunciamiento, may disavow her own act. I trust, however, that such will not be the case, though I think it incumbent upon our government to continue to raise and push out troops till the thing is settled. Should there be want of faith on the part of the Mexicans, we should be in condition to punish it with most exemplary severity. Let our war measures be all pushed through without delay, and let there be the greatest activity in raising troops. This course of procedure, whilst ratifying the treaty, will make the treaty an effective thing.

Remember me to friends. Margaret wishes to be affectionately remembered to you. Hazard has not forgotten your stories of King George and the Redcoats.

At this time he was being considered for the colonelcy of one of the new regiments, which, if the war continued, would have to be raised. A prominent member of Congress from Maine, Hezekiah Williams, writes him, "I think our delegation would unite in recommending you. It certainly would give me pleasure to aid in obtaining your appointment." Mr. Stevens writes Oliver: —

> "My policy is to get elected to the command of a volunteer regiment, and get a leave of absence, so as to hold on to my present commission. I should like to command a Massachusetts regiment and put it through some good service in Mexico, should we be obliged to resort to the alternative of renewing the contest."

An incident occurred one day, when a light rifle that Mr. Stevens had taken to Mexico, but had never used in action there, stood in good stead. A mad dog ran amuck down Broad Street, frothing at the mouth and snapping at all he met. The people on all sides rushed into the shops and houses for refuge, with loud outcries of alarm and warning. Mr. Stevens, apprised of the danger, seized the light rifle, hobbled out on his crutches to the sidewalk, followed up the maddened beast, which had now dashed into the hall of a neighboring house, and shot him through the head, killing him on the spot.

He might now reasonably expect a little rest until he could recover from his severe wound and injury. He writes Oliver, March 15: —

> "I am taking things very quietly in this most quiet of all places. There is no danger from dissipation or over-excitement, and I need not, therefore, be apprehensive of anything like inflammation in my wounded part. My wound is doing exceedingly well. I can now move a little about the house with a cane."

That very day he received orders to proceed to Savannah, Ga., with the view of taking charge of the fortifications on the Savannah River. After his arrival there he writes Oliver, March 27: —

> "I am here on temporary duty for a few days, and shall return home next week. This is to be my permanent station in

the fall. The summer I shall spend in amusing myself. A portion of it will be passed in Andover.

"Savannah is an old-looking, handsomely laid out, and pretty well-built place, the most important town in the State, and the only one having much trade.

"Colonel Mansfield will relieve me in Bucksport during the latter part of April, at which time I shall bid adieu to my friends in Maine.

"I am tolerably well pleased with my new station. It is healthy throughout the year, and I have no doubt the change will prove highly advantageous so far as health is concerned.

"The duties are trifling. The large work, Fort Pulaski, is finished, and nothing remains to be done but to prepare a bridge-head of timber, and secure the island from overflow by the construction of dikes. The small work, Fort Jackson, will require an expenditure of something less than one hundred thousand dollars in the way of enlargement and repair.

"My duties will therefore be comparatively light. Nothing will be doing from June to October; so I shall be able to go North occasionally to pass the summer.

"The people are very hospitable, and I shall make many acquaintances before I leave. I have an old classmate just rising at the bar here, and many officers' families reside here."

His next letter to Oliver, from Newport, April 6, is interesting as presenting his view of Cromwell: —

"I am just back from Savannah after an absence of twenty days, and return thither to commence operations in November next. The intermediate time will enable me to get well of my game foot, and to pass some little time among my friends. I go down to Bucksport week after next to turn over the public property to Colonel Mansfield, and I shall probably be in Portland on Friday, April 21.

"I am rather late to answer the principal thing in your letter of the 25th ultimo. Both subjects are good. I should think that 'Individuality of Character' would be preferable, because its handling does not require so much reading as Cromwell. With ample leisure for investigation, I should prefer the latter. I do not know of a single unprejudiced authority. Foster's Statesmen of the Commonwealth and Clarendon's History are the best I have seen. Russell's Biography is poor and inaccurate. Hume is very superficial. Catherine Macaulay is a great bigot. Carlyle's Cromwell is good, because it consists principally of Cromwell's letters and speeches. Babington Macaulay's essays on the various statesmen of the rebellion are good.

"I like your idea of treating the subject of individuality. The greatest example of the influence of a strong, original character in moulding a great people in our own history is Franklin. It was the strong, original characters of our Revolution that achieved our independence. The many are always ruled by a few, frequently by one, the wise, the strong man, or men. I have found in this view many fine ideas in Carlyle's Heroes.

"As regards Cromwell: he and he alone achieved the overthrow of the Stuarts. Without him there would have been no glorious restoration, as Burke calls the expulsion of James. The French monarchy would have still been absolute, and the French people would have still been in chains. Cromwell was bold, direct, far-seeing, a great governor of men. Cromwell was vastly superior in the elements of a great man to Hampden, to Pym, to Strafford, to Vane. A bold sketch of Cromwell's actual part in the greatest drama of English history would be highly interesting. Dwell on his great foresight, grasp, directness, sincerity; his boisterous youth, his religious fervor in after years, his unswerving advocacy of the rights of his neighbors, which caused him to be called the Lord of the Fens; his unshrinking avowal of his opinions in his early parliamentary career; his extraordinary sagacity in organizing his Ironsides, the greatest soldiers of ancient or modern times; his self-denying ordinance, in which by a bold stroke he threw half-way, indecisive men from the army, and sent it forth to victory; his earnest efforts to settle matters with Charles after the forces of the latter were dispersed, and he a prisoner; his invincible opposition to all ecclesiastical tyranny, whether presbyterian or prelatical; his part in the execution of the king; his great Irish and Scotch campaigns, particularly the battle of Dunbar, where his famous rallying cry, as the sun shone through the morning clouds, 'Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered!' spread dismay through the ranks of his enemies, and brought a glorious victory to his arms."

Now he enjoyed a month of the rest he so much needed. With his wife and little ones he occupied rooms in the old family mansion, a welcome guest to Mrs. Benjamin Hazard and her daughters, who always regarded him with the greatest affection and admiration. As spring opened, he took great pleasure in making a famous garden in the spacious yard behind the mansion, having the ground manured and cultivated in the most thorough manner, and planting the greatest profusion of vegetables. His friend Mason was also in Newport, recovering from his wound, and many were the accounts and discussions had with him and Mr. Brooks and other congenial spirits of the stirring scenes of the war.

Major Stevens was fully convinced of the justice and necessity of the Mexican war. The repeated depredations by Mexico upon Americans, and her long-continued refusal or evasion of all redress; her publicly declared purpose of conquering the republic of Texas after its independence had been established and acknowledged for ten years; her arrogant demand that the United States should not admit Texas to the Union, and her still more arrogant threat that she would regard such admission as an act of war; the departure of her minister from Washington; and the breaking off of all friendly relations instantly upon the passage by Congress of the resolution admitting the Lone Star State, — left no alternative but to bring the inflated and treacherous pronunciamientos to terms by force of arms, since they were amenable neither to justice nor reason, and to "conquer a peace" which even they would have to respect. And, glorious as were her arms, not less creditable were the moderation and magnanimity of the Great Republic, when Mexico, her armies destroyed, her capital taken, lay prostrate, in paying a large indemnity for the far-distant and almost tenantless regions of New Mexico and California, which, while ready to fall from Mexico's feeble grasp, were essential to the expansion of the populous and fast-growing Republic of the North.

In the latter part of May he visited Boston and Andover with his little son.

The following month the Savannah orders were countermanded, the Engineer Department deeming it best that he should continue in charge of Fort Knox, and the other works in Maine and New Hampshire.

After a preliminary visit, he moved his family again to Bucksport, in June, and occupied a cottage at the fort opposite the town.

He gathered about him his former assistants, A. W. Tinkham and John Lee, and continued in charge of the works for upwards of five years.

Having a strong desire to own a home of his own, he purchased a house, with a generous lot of half an acre, overlooking the river. The house was of two stories, seven rooms, with a barn in the rear connected by a woodshed. The principal wharf was at the foot of the street, and here Major Stevens kept his boat. The house had an ill repute as being unhealthy, some of the former inmates having died from consumption. When cautioned on this score, he replied: "It is high time some one took the house who can give it a good reputation." He had the cellar and grounds thoroughly drained, sunk a well, blasting through a ledge of rock, and put the grounds and garden in fine order. He took great pains with, and pleasure in, the garden, raising all kinds of vegetables. They kept poultry also, and among them was a flock of twelve ducklings that every day solemnly waddled down to the river in single file, and as solemnly waddled up the hill again after their daily bath and paddling in the river, an unceasing source of interest and pleasure to the children.

The government was contemplating the fortification of the more important points on the Pacific coast, and to an inquiry as to his willingness to be sent to that distant field, he writes the following characteristic reply: —

> "As regards engineer duty on the Pacific coast for a year or two, I should be well pleased with it did I feel certain that I was physically in condition to undertake it. If the passage thither should be an easy one, as mostly by sea, I have little doubt that on my arrival at the scene of my duties my lameness would be essentially gone. If the journey should be overland, I should hardly be able to bear the fatigues of it in less than two or three months. If ordered, I should go *without hesitation*, and do the best I could. I must leave this matter entirely with you. No officer should feel at liberty to decline a distant duty of this kind, and in this case, as in all others, let the public interests alone have weight."

Ambitious he was, but with a lofty ambition, not to aggrandize himself, but to serve his country, ever ready to sacrifice personal interests and feelings to the public service. In this and other letters he displays a certain impatience that personal convenience or interests should be consulted at all in matters of public duty.

When the brevets were announced, Lieutenant Stevens was brevetted "Captain, August 20, 1847, for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battles of Contreras and Churubusco," and "Major, September 13, 1847, for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Chapultepec."

He took great pains to secure justice to all the engineer officers in the way of brevets, conceiving that he was in a measure responsible therefor because, as adjutant of the corps in Mexico, the engineer reports had been made through him; he had had charge of the records, and had been closely consulted by the chief, General Totten, and spent no little time and effort in behalf of those who had been overlooked.

The engineers felt themselves treated with injustice in the matter of brevet pay, for while the officers of artillery, cavalry, and infantry were allowed full pay when assigned to duty according to their brevet rank, the former were denied the same right, although frequently placed in charge of works and assigned to duties above their nominal rank. They had other grievances, too, in the allowances for rations, horses, etc. One so disinterested and indefatigable in behalf of his corps and brother officers as Major Stevens would be sure to be often called upon. He took great interest in these matters, and even more in the general reorganization of the army, upon which he corresponded and consulted largely with able and public-spirited young officers of other corps as well as his own.

It was not until November that his friend and classmate, Lieutenant J. F. Gilmer, relieved him of the vouchers and papers relating to Savannah forts. Writing from Washington, November 6, Gilmer says: "Captain Fred. A. Smith would like much to have you here this winter. It is possible you may do the corps a great service by being in Washington this winter."

A call for service in any direction always appealed strongly to him, and accordingly he determined to visit Washington, as he writes his brother Oliver, under date of Bucksport, December 8, 1848. This letter displays a humorous vein not usual with him, and gives his view of the character and public policy of General Taylor, then just elected President: —

MY DEAR BROTHER, — I rejoice to learn that you are still in the land of the living, and that that severe and noble pursuit, the law, does not prevent your seeing the lions of the town. But you are very cruel to triumph over us benighted creatures in this region of frosts and snows. In truth we lead a quiet, rational, country life, perhaps as much to be envied as the more attractive life of the great city. I wish you, however, distinctly to understand that we do not suck our paws during the winter, and I feel bound to disabuse you of this misapprehension. That is done still farther down East, I believe. We do not sleep more than twelve or at most fourteen hours a day. We manage to eat three meals per day. But it is hard work; they approximate rather too closely. We drink tea nights, and eat apples mornings. We get the newspapers generally every day, and expect to read the Message to-morrow. By way of diversion, we slide down hill on a moonlight evening. Then there are prayer and conference meetings *ad libitum*. What a consolation these latter privileges would be to one of your serious turn of mind! I can almost see your grave countenance lighted up with heavenly radiance on such an occasion.

By the bye, I hope to see you in about four weeks, as I pass on to Washington. There I shall probably remain till after the inauguration. I find in the election of General Taylor the great fact indicated that we poor devils in the army are citizens of the country, and eligible to civil offices of trust. I should have voted most cordially for General Cass, had I a vote to throw. His election I vastly preferred. But there has been in this canvass a vast deal of nonsense about the camp not being the place to find our Presidents, and I am much mistaken if General Taylor, in his own person, does not prove a happy instance of the mingling of military and administrative ability. And those miserable hacks of party, who have sought to depreciate his military services and talents, have now the consolation to reflect that their efforts at detraction served to promote his election, as it did that of General Harrison.

"I unhesitatingly believe that General Taylor will administer the government in an able, impartial, and patriotic manner, and if during his presidency an emergency arises, he will prove a hero-President as he has proved a hero-soldier. The Democratic party ought not to prejudge him. Let them maintain a firm attitude in Congress, and keep well organized everywhere. The Whigs cannot carry any of their favorite measures through Congress for two years at least. We may then have a Democratic Congress, and, my word for it, there will be no collision between such a Congress and General Taylor. On that great cluster of questions, the public lands, the encouragement and protection of distant settlements, the development of the great Pacific coast, the old man will be right. If the Democratic party will show candor and liberality towards General Taylor, he may be their nominee four years from this time."

As one result of his visit to Washington, Major Stevens took hold of the brevet pay question in his usual thoroughgoing and indefatigable manner. He first corresponded with every brevetted officer of the corps whom he had not already consulted personally. Having thus learned their views, he prepared a strong memorial on the subject, which, after being submitted to, and warmly approved by, Colonels Thayer and Mansfield and Major Tower, was sent to all the officers for their signatures. And in July he transmitted the memorial to General Totten, signed by every brevetted officer of the corps save one, with an urgent letter asking his interposition with the War Department in their behalf.

It was the intention, in case the department denied the application, to appeal to Congress, but the manifest justice of the cause as presented was unanswerable. The department, after some doubts, concluded that it had the necessary authority under the law regulating brevet pay, and at length the engineers were placed on an equality with the other arms in this respect. His brother officers conceded that the gratifying triumph was due to the well-directed and persistent efforts of Major Stevens, and showered upon him their warm thanks and applause. This success, however, was followed by more and more frequent applications from them and others for assistance and advice in their own personal matters. He never failed to expend his thought, energy, and time in every deserving case as promptly and freely as, ay, far more than, if he was working for himself, and he never shunned, nor complained of, these gratuitous tasks, which in the next few years became a great burden, but always seemed to take real pleasure and satisfaction in helping others, even many who had little or no claim upon him.

In April writes Captain George B. McClellan, who was stationed at West Point with the engineer company, an urgent appeal to Major Stevens to use his influence to have the company ordered away from the Point, and to Fort Schuyler: —

> MY DEAR STEVENS, — The detachment of artillery (laborers) stationed here are to be transferred to the engineer company, — at least so many as may be necessary to fill up the company. On our company then will it devolve to do all the police of the Point, to make the roads, drive the carts, feed the oxen, work in the blacksmith and carpenter shops, etc., etc., — in plain terms, the engineer company is destroyed; it has become a company of mud-diggers; it will no longer be an engineer company, for it will be impossible to do military duty, and no instruction in the duties of engineer troops can be given them. The object of the whole business is to get Shover's company of light artillery ordered on here, and we are sacrificed to attain that object.
>
> This is a matter that concerns equally all the officers of our corps. We are disgraced if this order is allowed to remain in force, and I beg of you to use whatever influence you may possess in Washington to have the order rescinded, and the company ordered away from here. I am in haste,
>
> Truly your friend,
>
> GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN.

Partly in response to this letter, but more to express his own views as to the true policy in regard to engineer troops, Major Stevens writes at length to General Totten. It is characteristic that he does not treat the matter from McClellan's narrow, personal standpoint, but at once elevates the whole subject to a discussion of the requirements of the service. After referring to his intimate association with the engineer company in its organization and in Mexico, he continues: —

"I think every one owes something to his profession. Something is due to my profession, not inferior certainly in dignity to any other. I would endeavor to discharge it according to my ability. It will be in this spirit that I shall submit the following observations. In this spirit will I from time to time communicate with the department on this and other topics appertaining to the noble profession of arms, not doubting that my suggestions will be kindly received.

"By law, the engineer company is restricted to one hundred men, a number entirely inadequate even to the duties of peace. . . . The remedy I would propose is this: Let the utmost care be exercised in enlisting men. Let no man be enlisted who cannot in due course of time be made a non-commissioned officer. Let there be in no case transfers from other branches of the service. Let the whole strength of the officers of the company be applied to discipline and instruct the men, so that in time of need we shall have a band of splendid non-commissioned officers, the peers of Everett and Hastings and Starr, — men who have received commissions for their gallant services in Mexico, and each of whom, had Smith and McClellan and Foster fallen, could have gloriously led on the company to its duty.

"I would propose a complete system of practical instruction six or seven months of the year, sapping, mining, and pontooneering, and the whole subject of field-works, at some suitable place, say Fort Schuyler, and a course of theoretical instruction the remaining five months, embracing an elementary course of mathematics (including drawing, surveying, and the use of instruments) and of engineering. There should also be a good general and military library. As regards the library, the corps could be applied to for aid, if necessary. I will for one, and I doubt not many officers would, liberally make donations.

"Even if the engineer arm were increased to four companies, which I trust will be done the next session of Congress, I would recommend this course. The fine practical education which would thus be secured would induce men to enlist. And we shall have the satisfaction that in the next war with England,

and when the question is to besiege Montreal, Quebec, and Halifax, our four companies can be soon converted into twenty companies."

Ever since his return from Mexico, Major Stevens was deeply interested in the reorganization of the army. Even while so vigorously fighting for his corps in the matter of brevet pay, in discussions and correspondence with Mansfield, Mason, Tower, G. W. Smith, F. A. Smith, Beauregard, Hunt, and others, after disposing of this particular grievance he would enlarge upon the reorganization of the whole army, giving his own ideas, and urging them as a patriotic duty, not as members of any corps, but from the standpoint of the whole army, to prepare memoirs, or letters, giving their views.

He advocated an organization that would admit of fourfold extension in case of war; the keeping of at least one third of the troops in camps of drill and instruction in order to maintain the highest degree of military knowledge and discipline; and the raising of the standard of the rank and file, attracting thereby American-born young men as soldiers by increased pay, better instruction, and greater opportunities for advancement, even to conferring commissions in meritorious cases. These letters and replies, particularly a memoir by Hunt (afterwards the distinguished general, Henry J. Hunt, chief of artillery of the Army of the Potomac), are full of interest and instruction. The army, with all the improvements adopted in recent years, has not yet reached the standard set by these patriotic and able young officers fifty years ago. How Major Stevens followed up these preliminary efforts will appear hereafter.

CHAPTER XIII

COAST SURVEY

During the summer Professor A. D. Bache, the distinguished scientist, chief of the United States Coast Survey, found himself obliged to obtain a new "assistant in charge of the Coast Survey Office," the second position on the survey, in place of Captain A. A. Humphreys, of the topographical engineers, who under the labors of that office had become broken down in health and was obliged to relinquish it. It was no light tribute to the rising reputation of Major Stevens that so wise and sagacious a man as Professor Bache, and so excellent a judge of men, should have selected him out of the whole army as his right-hand assistant and executive officer. He tendered the position, August 7, in a letter well calculated to appeal to a patriotic and ambitious young man, dwelling upon the important character of the duties of the office, and the opportunities it afforded "to build up a name for executive ability," and "to reflect credit upon the corps," etc., and stating that the chief engineer (General Totten was an intimate friend of Professor Bache) would look favorably upon his acceptance.

At first Major Stevens was disposed to decline the post; but after several interviews with Professor Bache in Cambridge and Boston, he reluctantly decided to accept it, but upon condition that he should retain charge of the Bucksport works in addition to the new position for a year longer, with the right then to retain either the Coast Survey or Fort Knox, as he might prefer, and relinquish the other. This unique condition, by which an officer about to undertake new and arduous duties stipulated to retain also his former ones, thus voluntarily adding to his labors instead of diminishing them, was at once accepted by Professor Bache and agreed to by the engineer department, a convincing proof of the esteem in which he was held by both.

The concluding part of the following letter to his brother Oliver shows that it was the wider field for his energies and ambition, the better opportunities for service and for putting in force his ideas of reorganizing the army, of performing his "duty to his profession," that really caused him to accept the onerous position: —

My dear Brother, — I am ready at once to give you a decided opinion as to the course you should pursue, and I know it will be in accordance with your own judgment.

Remain in Cambridge a year and a half longer. Then go to Boston. Throw yourself into the arena of the strongest men in the State. Contend with strong men, the stronger the better, and rise above them all.

I have watched your progress with the anxiety and tender solicitude which an older brother must feel in a younger and only brother. This is one of the turning-points of your life.

I have not the slightest doubt, in one year from being admitted to the bar, you will be able to marry and have a home of your own.

Don't trouble yourself about the cost. If things go right with me here, I have no doubt I shall be able to let you have, from July, '50, to July, '51, all you will require.

I write with the earnestness of deep conviction. I am proud of your talents, but you have a weight of character which gives to talent its force. Let me hear from you soon. I beg of you not to give way to despondency, and the least as to the bold course I have indicated.

You and I both do best by taking bold, self-relying courses. I never once failed in my life from the boldness of my course. You will not.

I feel I have come to Washington at the right time. The Coast Survey *needs me* to overhaul it. I feel that the *army* has a representative in me which it has not had in Washington in years. I know my position, — my strength, — and I swear by the Eternal, to use Jackson's expression, I will put it forth.

In the following he gives his views on Coast Survey and other matters.

WASHINGTON, D. C., October 22, 1849.

MY DEAR BROTHER, — To-day I enter upon my duties. I see no particular difficulty. There is no need of being a mere office drudge. All the work can be done without any one's breaking down. The Coast Survey is a large operation, and the charge of the office here can be made an agreeable duty. The responsibility will be considerable. But all details can be thrown upon subordinates. The fact is, the work in the world has got to be done. But it can be done by proper distribution and arrangement in an easy, quiet manner. This will be my study in my new duties.

We shall have a great session of Congress the coming winter. The whole subject of our communications with the Pacific will be discussed, railroad and ship canal across the Isthmus, — railroad through our own border. I have no doubt Congress will direct the necessary explorations and surveys to determine the practicability of the various schemes.

I am now boarding at a private house. But in a few days I shall occupy rooms, and take my meals at one of the public houses. This is the favorite mode with gentlemen that can afford it. A good parlor with sleeping-room adjoining, in a good situation, will cost me twenty-five dollars per month, the rooms being furnished, and provided with fuel, light, and attendance. And board simply, at the best public houses, will cost about twenty dollars more. This mode of living is free and easy. You go into retiracy when you choose, and can again at any moment mingle with the crowd.

I am becoming acquainted with our Maine and Massachusetts congressmen. Duncan, of Haverhill, I find quite an agreeable gentleman. Hamlin, one of the Maine senators, seems to be quite a clever fellow. Maine, however, has a mediocre representation in both branches. I was present last evening at a reception at the White House. The President looks hardy, and as though he would survive the attacks that are being made upon him. His nonchalance is by many mistaken for vacuity. The old man has an iron will and most inflexible resolution, and I assure my Democratic friends, who say that he is in the keeping of others, that before his four years are through they will be convinced of it. Take my opinion for what it is worth, brother Oliver.

The Democrats, as regards General Taylor, are pursuing the very course to reëlect him. What did the Whigs gain by representing General Jackson to be in leading-strings? Can't we learn from our enemies?

The Coast Survey Office was indeed "a large operation." All the maps, charts, computations, drawings, printing, engravings, instrument-making, and business administration of the survey were done here under the management and supervision of the assistant in charge. The force immediately under him comprised from sixty to seventy persons, including several army officers. The office occupied a large brick block of houses on New Jersey Avenue, corner of B Street, the house at the northeast end being the residence of the professor. The Coast Survey now occupies the other end of the same square.

The first step taken by the new chief was to organize the force into separate bureaus, each under a responsible head, and performing a particular branch of the work. This had not yet been done, although the difficulty, or impossibility, of the head of the office personally directing and supervising so many employees singly, and the details of such multifarious and complicated work, was daily becoming more evident, and doubtless was the prime cause of Captain Humphreys's breakdown.

"On entering on my duties," he remarks in his first report, "I saw at once that my only hope of filling the situation, with satisfaction to the survey and to myself, was in at once applying my exertions to enlarging and adapting the organization

> of the office to the increasing wants of the survey. The office work would necessarily increase for two or three years without any increase of field work. But it was manifest that the field work of the survey itself must increase, and thus involve a still greater increase of office work."

Accordingly he established the Departments of Engraving, Drawing, Computing, Publication and Distribution of Maps, Archives and Library, and Correspondence. To these were soon added Electro-plating, Printing, and Instrument-making. The best-fitted men were selected from the force, or new assistants were employed and put in charge of the departments. The arrears of work were rapidly brought up; the geographical data were collected and indexed; the registry of land work was improved; volumes of observations were bound; and the register, two years behind, was brought up to date. In his first report, the new assistant in charge announced that the Drawing Department would be up to the wants of the survey in one year, and made many useful recommendations for the improvement of the service.

Professor Bache warmly acknowledged the efficiency of his young assistant in his reports. December 5, 1851, he declares: —

> "For the development of the plans of office work, the urging to completion the list of geographical positions, and the increased rapidity of publication, the Coast Survey is indebted mainly to the zeal and industry, guided by knowledge and intelligence, of Brevet-Major Isaac I. Stevens, of the corps of engineers, in acknowledging which, in connection with the remarks on the speedy completion of the results of the survey, I feel that I am doing simply an act of justice.
>
> "Every department of the office has, under his able supervision, continued to improve, and has filled the full measure required by the increasing number, amount, and variety of results returned by the field work of the coast. It is due to Major Stevens to acknowledge the promptness which is secured in the

publication of results, and the maturing of a system by which sketches and preliminary work of charts are made in every case to precede the more finished work, furnishing valuable results to the navigator as soon as obtained by the survey.

"The rapid execution of the engraved charts of the Western coast reconnoissance is a proof of the perfection of this organization, and of the zeal of those who administer it. Three well-executed sheets of reconnoissance were engraved and ready for publication within twenty working days after the beginning of the engraving."

During Captain Humphreys's illness the work had fallen greatly in arrears; many of the employees had become careless and idle, some of them dissipated; and great disorder and confusion prevailed. It was common report that the Coast Survey was the worst-conducted office in Washington. Major Stevens set himself to correct this state of things with a vigor, at times a severity, that admitted no delay and brooked no opposition. Strict punctuality, prompt compliance with orders, and complete and exact performance of duty, he required and exacted with military discipline. There was great discontent and indignation among the old officers and employees, and no little ridicule at the idea of the young major enforcing army rule in a scientific institution. Even the professor feared he was carrying it too far, and rather pettishly remarked, "Since Major Stevens took hold, there has been a continual jingling of bells all over the building, but I suppose it won't do to interfere with these army officers." It seems that Major Stevens had caused bells to be placed in the various offices with wires running to his own room, so that he could summon his subordinates without delay when he wished to see them.

But the new assistant pursued the course he had marked out unswervingly, without fear and without favor. He summarily dismissed several of the worst offenders. Others he degraded in pay or position. He made himself master of every branch and detail of that great institution. The old computers, engravers, draughtsmen, topographers, and others, who had passed years in the office, were astonished to find that the new chief fully understood their technical work, and was watching, criticising, and directing it with expert skill and judgment. As usual, he took a warm interest in the men under his charge, ever ready to encourage and reward the deserving, and to assist them in their personal affairs. He caused one of the messengers, who had lost both arms in an explosion, to learn to write with his foot, and gave him copying to do to eke out his scanty pay. One of the higher employees was addicted to periodical attacks of intemperance utterly beyond his power to resist, but otherwise was a respectable and useful man. Major Stevens quietly told this gentleman to come to him whenever he felt one of these attacks coming on too strong for him to withstand, and he should have a leave of absence for a few days, enough to have, and recover from, his spree, and on this footing he continued on the survey for years.

Under his firm, masterful, and exacting but generous treatment the outraged feelings of the office soon changed. They could not but respect a chief who, if he required good and full work, appreciated and acknowledged it; and their respect changed to admiration, and finally to affection, when they saw how he was building up the efficiency and reputation of the office, and realized that his strict rule was characterized by justice and impartiality, and tempered by the kindness of a warm-hearted and generous man. Professor Bache found in his new assistant not only relief from the cares of the office and of administration, but one whose ideas in most subjects agreed with his own, and whose strong, bright, and well-instructed mind could travel with his own through other fields. A warm and generous friendship grew up between them, which lasted unbroken during life.

The task he had undertaken at the Coast Survey made this a very laborious winter for Major Stevens, but one that gratified his ambition for public service. He met many of his brother officers, "the men of Mexico," and discussed with them the questions of army reorganization, fortifications, etc. He also made the acquaintance of members of Congress, and freely impressed upon them his views of these measures. General Shields was now a senator from Illinois, and was always ready to adopt and advocate the ideas of the young major of engineers, and was glad of his aid in preparing his reports and bills. Always and emphatically a national man, believing that the preservation of the Union was essential to liberty and national existence, Major Stevens took great interest in the compromise measures so ably carried through by Henry Clay, in support of which Webster delivered his noted 7th of March speech, and fully approved the measures of these great statesmen to allay sectional strife and preserve the Union.

The plans and hopes of the Southern leaders were cruelly disappointed by the action of California, which adopted a free constitution, and knocked at the doors of Congress for admission as a free State. Consequently they refused her admission unless additional safeguards were thrown around the "peculiar institution," as slavery was termed; and many of the fire-eaters openly advocated disunion as the only means of preserving it against the free ideas of the North, and the preponderating increase of free States. For a time the difference seemed irreconcilable, and disunion and civil war imminent; but at length, by the wise counsels of Clay, Webster, and the more broad-minded men of both sides, a compromise was effected, and California entered the Union a free State.

The old Puritan in Andover, in his abhorrence of slavery, condemned all compromise, and writes the son he so much loved and admired a pathetic and reproachful letter, marked, too, by a sublime faith in the ultimate triumph of right: —

> Dear Son, — I have been confined to the house since the 22d of last November, but am now very well, excepting a weak leg. I have thought much of my daughters during my sickness, especially of the two youngest, who were ever ready to wait upon me by night or day. . . . I was sorry you should so much commend D. Webster's speech, and thought no man could commend it who was opposed to slavery. I do think Webster to be a demagogue; that he is so lost to every good principle as to court slaveholders' approbation, and vote shame on the descendants of the men of '75.
>
> I believe the great Being who rules the destinies of nations has ordained that we remain united, that we extend the area of freedom, not slavery, that other nations may copy our example, — too late in the day for Liberty to take a backward march in our country, however much she may swing to and fro in the old country.
>
> Isaac Stevens.

His wife and family remained in Bucksport during the winter, not wishing to break up the comfortable home until he decided to remain on the Coast Survey permanently. Early in April he visited Bucksport, where, on the 28th of that month, a daughter was born to them, named Gertrude Maude.

This winter Major Stevens's wound broke out afresh, and discharged several small fragments of bone, causing considerable suffering and much inconvenience. This recurred several times during his stay in Washington, and it was over four years before the wound permanently healed. Sometimes, when walking, his foot would give out entirely, and he would have to hail the nearest omnibus or carriage. He used to wear a shoe with very thick soles, which best protected and served the injured member.

A letter to Professor Bache, written from Newport while on his way to Bucksport, shows that he had decided at this time to relinquish the Coast Survey, a decision which he afterwards reconsidered: —

> . . . "In Baltimore I met Colonel Lee and Captain Foster. Colonel Lee was kind enough to go over my article on the Mexican war. His suggestions and criticisms will very much improve the article. The colonel thinks I have made a mistake in determining not to remain on the survey.
>
> "I saw General Scott in New York. He went over many of the operations in the valley, and you may be assured it was a great pleasure for me to meet my old chief.
>
> "I need not say to you how very gratifying to me was your letter in reply to mine communicating my intention to retire from the survey; and in answer to the concluding paragraph, you may rely upon me to do all in my power to respond to your wishes. I have been growing stronger every day since I left Washington. I hope to return in condition to do more satisfactory service than was in my power for some weeks previous to my leaving."

So it would seem that his hard work and close application were telling upon his health and strength.

In the spring he moved his family to Newport for the summer. In August he paid off four hundred dollars of the debt on the Bucksport house. Plain, simple, and even frugal in personal habits and expenses, and careful in money matters, he saved this sum from his pay. Yet he never cared for money-making; and notwithstanding the straitened circumstances of early life, and the lessons of economy so diligently inculcated by his father, he was very generous, a free giver, a great provider, and inclined to spend money freely.

He was obliged to spend most of the summer in Washington, making occasional visits North to look after the

Bucksport works and see his family. He now definitely decided to stay on the Coast Survey. After a short visit at Newport in August, he returned to Washington, and spent no little time during the next month in hunting up suitable quarters. How thoroughly sick and tired he was of being separated from his wife and children; how he longed to live united with them; how lofty and noble were his ideals of woman, of marriage, of duty, of ambition; and what success he was gaining on the survey, — are graphically depicted in his letters to his wife: —

WASHINGTON, September 5, 1850.

MY DEAREST WIFE, — I began to-day seeking for a boarding-house. I find great objection is made to children coming to table. I think a great deal of our children taking their meals with us, and I think I had rather go to the second table myself than to be deprived of the pleasure. . . .

I regret I did not remain a week longer. I found on reaching Washington that there was no necessity for my hurrying back. We should all of us have enjoyed the bathing. It is mighty lonesome here, particularly from sundown till about eight in the morning. It spoils a man on some accounts to be married, particularly if he gets a good, lovable wife. He is not good for much away from her. I assure you I will never be separated from you again another winter unless it is an absolute impossibility for us to be together. We are young, and let us not renounce the comfort and support of each other's society unless the necessity is imperative. I know you will say amen to this. . . .

WASHINGTON, Saturday, September 6, 1850.

MY DEAR WIFE, — . . . A devoted, loving, tender, sympathizing wife is the greatest element of my success in life. It adds to my strength in all respects. Think of this, Margaret. If I achieve what may be truly called success, it will be due mainly to you. I have no desire for place, or wealth, or station. But should I do something for my kind, should it be said of me when I am gone that the world owes something to my memory, that my fellow-men are happier and better for my labors, this is what I call success. It can be achieved only by constancy, by nobility of purpose, by a self-sacrificing spirit. Your example and your affection for me will help me to cultivate these virtues.

Yesterday the House passed by ten votes the Texas Boundary and the New Mexico Territorial Bill. You cannot imagine the gratulation which was shown by all persons, both in and out of Congress, when the result was announced. The feeling was that all the danger which had menaced us had been averted. If necessary, a great many members would have changed their votes. On Wednesday the measure was defeated by a majority of forty-six votes; on Thursday by a majority of eight votes; and yesterday it passed by a majority of ten. All the other measures will be rapidly pushed through, and Congress will rise early next month.

In my judgment the most dangerous crisis that has occurred since the foundation of the government has been happily passed. Henry Clay has been throughout the master spirit of the times. His services the present session are enough to immortalize his name. It is the crowning triumph of his civic life, and he will descend to posterity as one of the heroes and benefactors of his age and generation. He has not his peer in Congress. No man that combines his intrepid soul, his extended views, his large American heart, his admirable tact and presence of mind, and that quality of leadership which enables him through doubt and defection, in spite of unexpected difficulties and notwithstanding repeated defeats, to undauntedly pursue his course and finally achieve the ultimate triumph. This is Henry Clay in his seventy-fifth year. He has not his peer in our whole parliamentary history.

Sunday, September 8. Yesterday the California and Utah bills passed the House. Last evening a salute of one hundred guns was fired, and a large multitude assembled in front of the National to listen to a serenade to Henry Clay. But the glorious old man had gone out to enjoy a quiet Sunday in the country, and was not to be seen.

Little Sue must, I know, miss me very much. She is a great pet of mine. I never feel as if I could be put out with her, let her be ever so whimsical. Tell Sue she shall see her papa in a few weeks, and then we shall keep together for many months. Our long separation, dearest wife, is drawing to a close, and we shall be again united. My last visit was an oasis in the desert.

I saw the doctor in relation to my sore throat. He says it has very much improved. The only precaution I must take is not to expose myself to the night air. My general health is quite good, and is still growing even better. My foot gives me very little trouble. It has not been so strong for eight months as for the last ten days. I now am not obliged to make much use of the crutches. You may be sure I feel very much encouraged about my health, and I have no fears as to its being perfectly reëstablished. I eat well, sleep well, and am not worried by work. Remember me, my dear wife, to all the friends. Kiss the little Sue and Maude.

Your ever affectionate husband.

WASHINGTON, September 29, 1850.

MY DEAREST WIFE, — You must not think I have forgotten you. I have been very much occupied the last few days. Our appropriations were in danger, and both Professor Bache and myself have been hard at work to save them. We have carried everything, — secured no less than one hundred and ninety thousand dollars for the Western coast.

A portion of this appropriation we carried in the House in the teeth of the Committee of Ways and Means. They opposed it vehemently, yet we went to work on Friday, worked hard all day, and carried it two to one nearly against them.

The professor is in one respect a most skillful manager, but his skill consists in his perfect directness, truthfulness, disinterestedness, and good temper. He is perfectly frank and open. Margaret, such men have most influence with all men of sense, whether members of Congress, or men in official station, or in private life. This is the secret of his getting along so well. You know I have always insisted that such a course was the most sure and reliable. You stand on the solid rock, and nothing can move you when you cast aside all intrigue and low cunning, and pursue an open, truthful, manly course. Cunning men cannot cope with you. This is my experience.

My duties in the office are becoming more and more pleasant.

The office is becoming systematized, the back work is all coming up, and in the spring I have no doubt everything will be in the best possible condition.

Every department is improving, and a very fine spirit pervades all the employees. I am bringing to bear upon the men my personal weight, and you know I rarely ever fail whenever I am brought into direct personal contact with men. All the men are beginning to know me. They know I am firm and steadfast, but that I am as true to them as I am to the work itself. Every man will find that he can have entire confidence in my justice, and in my judgment of his merits. I am determined to be deserving of their confidence, and, if so, I shall most assuredly gain it.

The professor's confidence in me seems to be greater every day. This makes my position pleasant. It makes me more efficient. My judgment is all the clearer for it. The truth is, I take the same general view of things that he does, and my judgment almost invariably brings me to the same conclusions. Thus, in operating to secure our appropriations, we agreed perfectly in the mode of proceeding. Indeed, the professor left the management entirely to me in the first instance. When things were prepared for him, I sent an express to his camp to bring him in. All my arrangements entered admirably into his plans. This was pleasant. My part was, of course, a subordinate one, but it was in harmony with all that was done.

In the latter part of 1849 appeared the "History of the Mexican War," by Major Roswell S. Ripley, of the 1st artillery, who had served in Scott's campaign, and who had been given a year's leave of absence to enable him to write the work. The history is fairly well written, and accurate for the most part, but marred by the constant effort to depreciate the character and services of General Scott, and to extol Generals Worth and Pillow at his expense. The former of these officers, a fine soldier, and deservedly of high standing in the army and before the people, needed no encomiums; the latter was unworthy of them. Some of Ripley's statements, too, were deemed erroneous by many of the ablest officers who participated in the contest, and there was a strong sentiment among them that these errors ought to be exposed, and the truth vindicated before the public. None felt this sentiment more strongly than Major Stevens. An admirer of Scott's military talents, and a member of his staff during the famous campaign, his sense of justice and truth outraged by the attempt to disparage the general's great services, and to heap unearned honors upon Pillow, he deemed it his duty, even in the midst of his arduous labors at the Coast Survey, to give to the world a true and just account of these events, thus defending his former chief, and vindicating the truth of history.

He labored upon this work with his usual energy and thoroughness, submitted it in manuscript to Mason, Mansfield, Robert E. Lee, and other officers, by whom it was highly approved, and early in 1851 published his "Campaigns of the Rio Grande and of Mexico." In the preface he says: —

> "His object in appearing before the public was to testify to the services of those heroic officers and soldiers who were in his judgment depreciated in the work of Major Ripley. He felt impelled to this course by a sense of duty, and he appeals to all the actors in those scenes to bear testimony in vindication of the truth."

It is a strange instance of the foibles of a really great man that this work, inspired by the noblest and most disinterested motives, and the ablest defense of Scott's course in Mexico, was the cause of an estrangement for years between the writer and the commander he so well vindicated. Immediately on the publication of the book, Major Stevens presented General Scott with a copy with his compliments, fully expecting the warm thanks and appreciation of his former chief. To his astonishment, a few days later General Scott returned the book by the hands of

General Totten, with the message that Major Stevens was to observe that the leaves were still uncut, thus implying that he disdained even to read it. This affront he offered to the officer whom for bravery and services in Mexico he had highly commended and recommended for brevets, whose advice he had listened to in councils of war and followed on the battlefield, whom, hand upon his shoulder, he had presented to the shouting multitude in Washington as 'My young friend, Major Stevens, to whose courage and ability I owe much of my success in Mexico,' and who was his warmest and ablest defender against the aspersions of his enemies.

Whether General Scott, whose overweening vanity could ill brook the least criticism, was inflamed by some remark in the work, which seems incredible, or whether his mind was poisoned by one of those parasites that ever hang upon the great, is uncertain. In truth, his movements and entire course are highly commended, and in only a few instances is he criticised. Major Stevens pronounced his attack of Molino del Rey a mistake, and also the not insisting upon the surrender of Chapultepec when the armistice was granted after the battle of Churubusco. Major Stevens was not in the least cast down by this unwarranted rebuff. He simply pitied the foibles of the man, while he retained his admiration for the general's military talents. He always made it a point to call upon him on New Year's, and to show him the respect due the head of the army. But the cordial personal relations were broken forever.

CHAPTER XIV

LIFE IN WASHINGTON

In October, 1850, Major Stevens moved his wife and little ones to Washington, and took quarters at Mrs. Kelley's on Eighteenth Street, opposite Lafayette Square, in a large, spacious brick house, known as the club-house. Here also lived General Talcott, of the ordnance, Colonel Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Senator McWillie, of Mississippi, and Representative Burt, of South Carolina, with their families, and Commodore Matthew C. Perry, soon to become famous for opening Japan to the commerce and intercourse of the world. The latter took a great fancy to the little Sue, a sprightly, graceful child, and used to keep a store of candy in his room for her especial benefit. They were all cultivated and agreeable people, who lived together harmoniously and pleasantly, and with social calls, receptions, and parties the winter passed off rapidly. They enjoyed, too, the pleasant intimacy and cordial sympathy of their Portsmouth friends, Mr. and Mrs. Hayes, and Mr. and Mrs. Coues, who were now living in Washington.

During this winter Major Stevens took up the fourteen years' bill, a measure to promote lieutenants of engineers, topographical engineers, and ordnance to the rank of captain after fourteen years' service, with the same energy and thoroughness that characterized his efforts to procure for officers on duty according to brevet rank the full pay of such rank. He first induced the officers of these corps in Washington to agree upon the proposed bill, and to unite in actively supporting it, no small task, for there was much jealousy between them, and different schemes for benefiting one or another corps. How he enlisted the coöperation of officers at other stations will be seen from the following letter to Lieutenant M. C. Meiggs, afterwards major-general and quartermaster-general of the army:—

> Dear Meiggs, — The inclosed memorial, asking that lieutenants of engineers, topographical engineers, and ordnance be promoted to the rank of captain after fourteen years' service, was introduced into the Senate yesterday and referred to the Military Committee.
>
> We are all of us determined to do our best to get this measure through. We are all acting with great unanimity. The idea is not to touch the question of the increase of either corps, or the equalization of the third corps. It is simply a measure of relief for the old lieutenants, and we ask for it for the reasons stated in the memorial.
>
> We must urge the measure especially on the ground that there is no characteristic duty for the particular grades, but that with the proposed promotion not only will all our captains, but many of the lieutenants, have the same duties essentially as field officers.
>
> The chiefs of our three corps have been consulted and approve our course. The Secretary of War is also favorable and advises us to this action. General Shields will strongly support it.
>
> Every man must help in this business, if he approves of it. The committee desires each officer to correspond without delay with such members of Congress as he personally knows, and lay before them at length the grounds why this measure of relief should become a law.
>
> Let me hear from you soon, and let us all put our shoulders to the wheel. If each officer can carry conviction to the understanding of one member of Congress, the measure will prevail.

His friend, General Shields, then senator from Illinois, presented the memorial and advocated the bill in the Senate with hearty goodwill. The young major of engineers lost no suitable opportunity of impressing other members with the justice of the measure, and his earnest and forcible language, straightforward sincerity, and rising reputation for character and ability made him always listened to with attention and respect. He enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing the bill become a law in 1853, and of receiving the well-earned thanks and plaudits of his brother officers.

The subject of the reorganization of the army, which ever since the Mexican war held first place in his thoughts and correspondence, now engrossed his attention more than ever. His enlarged views, patriotic spirit, and generous nature abhorred the personal and corps jealousies too rife among army officers. He was emphatically an army man, not a corps man, seeking the best for the whole army and the country, and not the advancement of his corps or himself. Accordingly he corresponded on this subject with officers of every branch of the service, and especially with those who had served on the frontier; for he rightly foresaw that the most important duties devolving upon the army would be the exploration of the vast regions acquired by the Mexican war, and the protection of the settlers thereon. By this correspondence he sought to draw out and gather the views of the ablest and most experienced officers, in order to unite them upon, and to formulate, a sound scheme of army reorganization, and to impress it upon the country and Congress. He wrote very many letters setting forth his own views, and urging other officers to treat upon one or another branch of the subject, or to pursue some line of inquiry, and called upon them freely to look up authorities and collect information. Thus he induced Major H. J. Hunt to prepare valuable papers upon artillery and army reorganization in general. He begs Captain Kendrick to prepare a memoir on the New Mexico military problem; Lieutenant-

Colonel W. J. Hardee, on the defense of the frontier; Captain G. W. Smith, on "General Camp of Discipline, where all the army come together to learn the military art;" Captain George B. McClellan, on engineer troops; Captain G. W. Cullum, subject of military instruction; and others. Most of these officers responded readily and favorably to his appeals. In the following letters his ideas are clearly stated: —

MY DEAR HUNT, — We must move quietly as well as firmly in this matter [army reorganization]. We must make up our minds to encounter a violent opposition. The bureaucracy of Washington will probably be against us. We should first endeavor to get their aid, at least their neutrality in whole or in part. If they combine against reform, we must resolve to accomplish reform in spite of them. But time is necessary. A right direction to public opinion is necessary. Many men in Congress, the able men, must understand the question and be ready to act. We must first, then, enlighten public opinion, and enlighten members of Congress. We must bide our time, and, when it comes, act.

Let it first, then, be stirred quietly in the army. Let a great many officers in all good time, all discreet and sensible men, be interested, and let them write for the papers. . . .

We must work to get public men informed. I would not have the movement partake in the slightest degree of a party character. But we must act on the known fact that the Democratic party is the only party that can govern the country. The Whig party is totally incompetent. We must throw our strength chiefly on Democrats. Douglas would be a tower of strength in the Senate. Would it not be a good idea to address a series of letters to him, and request *him*, if he approves of their general spirit, to publish them in the "Washington Union"? This he could do without pledging himself to the particular views of the letters. In the House is Fuller, of Maine, a new member but a rising man, a particular friend of mine. There is Bissel, of Illinois. There is Rusk, of Texas. General Bayly, Stanton, of Tennessee, and others I might mention, are strong, reliable men. The Southern *disunion* men will look coldly on all attempts to improve the army. Mr. Burt will be lukewarm. I am somewhat fearful of Jefferson Davis. But they are both strong, good men, and we should act on the presumption that sectional views will not sway them from their duty.

Yours, etc.,
I. I. STEVENS.

He urged the elevating of the *personnel* of the army by —

"enlisting none but intelligent, respectable men, a fair representation of our people, attracted by increase of pay, and by opportunity of promotion to the grade of commissioned officer; that by care in selecting men, by schools, by libraries, and by camps of instruction, we can actually make of the common soldier a pretty good military man, so that going into civil life he may do good service in the militia, and in time of war be an important element in rapidly organizing armies. In this way the influence of West Point can be felt throughout the length and breadth of the land, in peace as well as on the breaking out of a war. It should be a settled principle to officer the infantry and mounted regiments in part from the rank and file. I know of no measure which is so calculated to elevate the service, and impart to it a greater efficiency. Young men of character would enter it, and our own citizens would fill up the ranks.

"Commanding officers on the frontiers should have entire discretion in matters of clothing, subsistence, and transportation. Officers of the administrative departments would in this case make their usual returns and reports to their chiefs in Washington. But the directions from Washington should be to the commander, and should be of the most general character; else there will be divided, discordant government, there will be a want of unity of purpose, there will be feebleness and delays in action. It may be said that this involves great judgment, energy, and foresight on the part of the commanding officer. Undoubtedly, and none but officers of high qualities should be placed in command. This is one of the most important duties in the direction of affairs at Washington. Send the most competent man to take command. Throw the responsibility upon him. *Build him up*, or *break him down*. In the latter case, promptly supply his place by another officer."

He also suggested planting military colonies: —

"Farmers and artisans to be enlisted, heads of families as well as young men, all intelligent, sober, moral men, at advanced rates of pay, and with their families be located at important points in the Indian country, the whole to be organized in a military manner; heads of families as the stationary infantry force, and the young men as the dragoon force, always in the saddle, and making up in mobility for paucity of numbers.

"I know well some of the prominent members of the Military Committee. My opinion is sometimes asked, and I wish to communicate sound, practical views. Here I am, and in my intercourse with members of Congress I intend to be, an *army* man and not a *corps* man. Let me tell you that truthful, intelligent officers have weight with Congress. The prominent members will give heed to their suggestions, and will be apt to adopt their views. There is a strong feeling in Congress that things are not managed rightly. Officers here must not only show what things are managed well; they must also show wherein things are *mis*managed, and they must suggest the remedy. It is time for officers having a common purpose to act together, and do something for their profession. I am at all events determined to do my duty. If we will act in concert, compare views in a fraternal and generous spirit, merging the *arm* in the *army*, and taking views as large as our country, and occupying the whole ground of the public defense, and thus come to conclusions, we shall be right, and Congress will act accordingly, I care not what opposition be made in interested quarters."

In a letter to Captain G. W. Smith, he declares —

"that the experience of our corps is too confined in time of peace, and that a portion ought to serve with troops in the West. This has always been my opinion, and the first year I entered the army I corresponded with Halleck in relation to it, and was in favor of a strong effort being made by our officers to get a change in our duties. . . . Were I not tied up on the Coast

Survey as I am, I would make a great effort to get ordered to New Mexico or Texas. There is a field for such of us as will go there with a determination to carve one out, if it is not, in consequence of the stupidity of superiors, offered us."

Major Stevens followed up this subject with great diligence, expending a vast amount of thought and work upon it for three years, and until the engrossing duties of the exploration of the Northern route to the Pacific in 1853, and of the governorship of Washington Territory, the making of Indian treaties, and the conduct of the Indian war in the Pacific Northwest occupied his whole time and energies. Some of his ideas bore fruit, and have since been adopted, notably the raising of the standard of the rank and file by increasing the pay of the private soldier, improving his opportunities, and allowing him to compete for a commission. And the thorough-going and comprehensive plan he suggested of deciding upon the best system of national defense by the study and conferring together of the ablest military men, the appeal to patriotic and intelligent citizens, and the enlightening of public opinion, is as wise and practical now as then, and as necessary. For the dear-bought experience of our four great wars is entirely unheeded, indeed almost unknown to the mass of the people; and the army to-day, in organization as in numbers, in its influence upon the military ideas and aptitudes of the nation in peace as in its capacity for expansion in time of war, is inadequate to our needs as a great nation.

Upon this subject the following characteristic letter of McClellan is of interest: —

Friday.

MY DEAR STEVENS, — The inclosed are the result of a search through the libraries of the War and Eng'r Dep'ts. I hardly feel satisfied that they are precisely what you need.

If they do not suit you, inform me of it, and I will gladly renew the research.

I had another conversation with the general this morning about the sappers. It 's of no use whatever, — his mind is made up to detail fifty men on the Coast Survey. He says the duty I propose for them in Texas is not legitimate and belongs not to them. Amen! I have said my say. I 've done what I could. Some one of more influence than I possess must convince him, — my words are idle breath and of no avail.

Truly your friend,

George B. McClellan.

It should be remembered that he was undertaking this great task of reorganizing the army, expending so much thought, labor, and time upon it, in addition to the incessant labors of the Coast Survey and the cares of the fortifications in Maine. It was his lofty and patriotic ideals, his noble ambition to do his duty by his profession and his country, that spurred him on, and his untiring energy and power of concentration that enabled him to throw off work so rapidly and effectively. His great ambition was to accomplish results, and he was careless and indifferent as to claiming credit for himself, or pushing himself in any way.

Notwithstanding all these engrossing labors, he responded as promptly and generously as ever to the personal calls of his friends and others. He writes and interviews the War Department and Generals Scott and Totten in behalf of another brevet for Captain G. W. Smith, aids McClellan in regard to the engineer company, obtains information for H. L. Smith, has the accounts of Sergeant Lathrop, of the engineer company, passed, and is ever ready to lend a helping hand to any deserving man or cause.

Early in 1851 Major Stevens moved to Mrs. Janney's, an excellent and well-known boarding-house on Eighth Street, next the Avenue. Here lived several members of Congress and government officials, and also the Turkish ambassador, a grave, quiet man in a dark red fez, with whom Major Stevens occasionally played checkers in the evening. At this establishment breakfast was served at eight, dinner at four, with a lunch at noon, and at nine in the evening tea and thin sandwiches were handed around in the parlor.

In June Major Stevens carried his family to Newport for the summer, where leaving them, he visited Bucksport to look after the works at Fort Knox, which still remained under his charge. He hastened back to Washington before the month was out. Passing through New York, he again sat to Professor Fowler for his "phrenological character," but this time was not accused of being a poet. Whether informed by the bumps or other means, the phrenologist seems to have drawn his characteristics pretty accurately, with some glaring exceptions.

Desirous of keeping house, Major Stevens now leased a roomy brick house, one in a block of two, on the west side of Third Street, and only a block north of the Avenue. This house had a large garden fronting on the street, and in the rear of it was a stable opening on an alley behind. Having obtained a position on the Coast Survey for his cousin, George Watson Stevens, a son of uncle William, a young man of nineteen, Major Stevens invited the youth to become a member of his family.

WASHINGTON, July 27, 1851.

MY DEAR, GOOD WIFE, — I have read your last letter over three times, and it has done me a world of good. I love to have you write so from your heart. You know that in marriage, in my wife and children, are centred all my hopes of earthly happiness. I am conscious it occupies too large a space in my youthful longings. It seems to me, with a devoted, loving, and lovely wife and lovely children, I might shut out the cares of life, and give myself up to happiness and joy. But we have duties to perform, trials to encounter, victories to achieve. Life is a warfare. We must contend with evil. We must accomplish good. I feel that I have done something, but that I have just begun; that I am entering upon the great field of useful exertion. I feel that the past has simply given me the experience and the knowledge to wisely conquer the present, and thus achieve a future. I feel there is something heroic and noble in this view of life. I feel that the greatest support, next to the consciousness of well-doing, is the sympathy and support of you, my dear companion and friend, and the confiding, tender helplessness of our dear babes.

I like George in the house very much, and, so far as I am concerned, I should like to have him a member of our family. I think, moreover, it would be to his advantage. Charging him simply the actual outlay to us, it will diminish his expenditures. Moreover, I shall be absent on inspections more or less, and you will thus have some one to call on.

He is studious, attentive to his duties, is impressing every one favorably with whom he is brought in contact, and is advancing steadily and quite rapidly. I feel highly pleased with his progress. With economy his pay will, the first year, pay his expenses.

I fear, if I am off in August, it will embarrass me very seriously in the fall. Our reports are still coming in, and now is the time to put things in a successful train. I do not wish, by inaction or delay now, to make trouble hereafter. My health is remarkably good. I have never had a better appetite, or more ability to work, than I have now. I am surprised at my vigor. I don't care how hot the weather is. The perspiration will drop from my face and hands, and I will feel neither languor nor fatigue. The other men in the office complain and have to slacken in their exertions, whilst I seem to have, with every hot day, fresh strength and force.

Give my love to the bairns. I want very much to see them.

Yours affectionately,

ISAAC.

WASHINGTON, July 28, 1851.

MY DEAREST WIFE, — I was very glad to learn that you were so well, and that the visit to Tom's was so pleasant. The farm is the place for children. On their account I wish I could pass four months every summer in that way. Hazard should go to school seven or eight months. I am delighted with his doings, — learning to swim, and do all kinds of work. Maude, too, learning to walk, — yes, actually walking, little darling. She must have forgotten me, but she will soon recollect me on seeing me again. And Sue learning to ride on horseback! Why, verily, Margaret, you have a hopeful family, one of which you may well be proud. Whether I go on to Tom's farm this summer is doubtful. I am glad they are doing so well. Daniel is a first-rate business man, and, as he likes farming, why not make it his business? I believe he could in a few years clear from debt a large farm, going upon it without a cent in his pocket. This is my opinion, and in a pecuniary point of view it is much better than a salaried place, — far better.

You may be assured my health is remarkably firm and good. I never knew it better. This warm weather does not affect me in the least. I bear labor better than any man in the office. Not a man in the office can do as much as I can.

Well, as to the book. It is said to sell pretty well. Most of the copies have been disposed of. Very good notices have appeared both in the "Intelligencer" and "Republic." The notice of the "Intelligencer" I sent you. The notice in the "Republic" was short, but very good. Some of my friends think it will excite a controversy. Others think it will be found a very hard thing to reply to. The fact is, whilst I have endeavored to clearly discern errors, I have sought to look charitably on all that was done. This seemed to me the only true wisdom. Some of my friends think I have carried this spirit too far, and that I have not censured enough. The general criticism is that I am too favorable towards Ripley. I think I have simply done him justice.

WASHINGTON, August 8, 1851.

MY DEAREST WIFE, — My health is remarkably good, my duties multifarious, and I must not spend time in recreation which my health does not require. I have not had such health for years, and have enjoyed this summer.

We are getting on famously with our housekeeping. The woman is a neat, respectable, honest person, who tries to do her duty, a very respectable washer and ironer as well as cook. I think you will be pleased with her. I shall send a boy whom we have had for a month away in the morning. One of the messengers comes to the house every evening to attend to the garden. So we are getting along. To-day we put six chickens into our coop, and to-morrow eight hens will be admitted. You will find us getting on swimmingly when you come on in October.

Friday morning. I have just received two very gratifying letters, one from General Shields, which I send you. Don't show it to any one, for he is very extravagant in praise of my book, and his suggestions are made in a corresponding spirit. But I value what he says very much, because he writes from his heart and in the spirit of friendship. I feel, too, there are many points of sympathy between him and me, and I value his friendship and words of encouragement.

The other letter is from Major Pitman. His article on my book in the "Providence Journal" of August 6 is altogether the best that has appeared. He has presented his own views with clearness and force on certain points of difference. This is what I want. I don't want eulogies, but discriminating notices. I want to see my errors exposed, otherwise I shall not learn to correct them.

Taylor & Maury have sold out all the copies of my book, and in consequence I loaned them half a dozen that I still had on hand. They think they will sell a great many more.

I am pushed exceedingly, and can write no more to-day. Love to the children.

Affectionately.

In the latter part of September Major Stevens made a hasty visit North, spent a few days at Andover and Newport, and brought his family back to Washington. His wife's youngest sister, Miss Nancy Hazard, accompanied them and spent the winter with them. He still retained charge of the works at Bucksport, although the second year of duty on the Coast Survey was near its close, and writes full and explicit instructions to Mr. A. W. Tinkham, C. E., concerning it. At a later date he obtained a good position for Mr. Tinkham on the Coast Survey, and also secured a situation in the same service for Mr. John E. Lee, whom he had employed in Bucksport as clerk.

The family this winter was increased by George W. Stevens and Miss Nancy L. Hazard. There was the colored cook, and Bridget Sullivan, the children's nurse, and Sampson Ingraham, a most faithful, capable, and respectable colored man and a free man. Sampson had one cross to bear which sorely tried his devotion to the family, and that was milking the cow and taking care of it, which Major Stevens compelled him daily to do; for Sampson, never having done any farm work, regarded this as derogatory, and was much distressed and mortified thereby. But finally Major Stevens, perceiving his trouble, relieved him from this duty. In the next house, on the south side, lived the family of Captain Simon F. Blount, of the navy. Nearly across the street Senator William Gwin, of California, and family occupied a roomy mansion, where they dispensed a generous hospitality. After breakfast, at eight, Major Stevens usually walked down to the Coast Survey Office, and walked back in time for dinner at four in the afternoon. In the evening there was tea at eight o'clock.

Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, visited Washington this winter, and attracted the greatest attention and admiration. He was a man of noble presence, a finished orator, speaking English with great purity and ease. The Democratic Jackson Club gave a banquet on January 8 in honor of Kossuth, which was attended by Webster and many of the first men of the country. Major Stevens was called upon to respond to the toast of "The Army and Navy," and spoke as follows: —

GENTLEMEN, — In the name of the army I return my thanks for the honor of this toast. I speak in behalf of the American army, — that army which presents its breast to the enemy, which pours out its blood, which lays down its life. A weighty significance already attaches to these words, "the American army." For, first, it achieved the independence of these States against the most powerful nation of modern times; second, it waged against the same power the second war of independence to maintain the freedom of the seas, the war the culminating glories of which we this evening celebrate; and, third, when a contiguous republic interfered with the domestic concerns of one of our States, the vindication of the law of nations, thus trampled under foot, was placed in its hands, and the stars and stripes soon waved over the ancient seats of the Montezumas. The American army will never forget what is due to its past renown and its future glory. We feel that, citizens alike with you, we are the army of a free people. We know, too, that our country possesses elements of military strength scarcely appreciated by the inattentive observer of events, — elements that have been nurtured by the wonderful growth, the trials and vicissitudes, of our young nation struggling into manhood. No other people so combines command and obedience, is so subordinate to law, yet is so much a law unto itself. No other people of ancient or modern times possesses such elements of military power. It is the profound conviction of my heart that in a just cause we could meet the world with a million armed men, each man a tried and true soldier, surpassing even the iron men of Cromwell, those men who feared God but not man; those men stern in fight yet merciful in victory; those men who achieved the great triumph of English independence, and transmitted to us its glorious recollections.

The members of both services, which you have honored to-night, see that the American people are marching forward to mighty destinies, and that upon them heavy responsibilities will rest. We mean to do our whole duty. We mean at all times to be in harness and at our posts. We know not when the time may come, — probably in our lifetime, and perhaps to-morrow. We feel no despondency, but are filled with joy and hope. When our beloved nation, "a power on earth," shall determine to measure its strength with other powers in the maintenance of right, and in vindication of violated law and outraged humanity, the army and navy will carry their country's flag in triumph over all seas and through all lands.

Congress was disposed then as now to starve the coast defenses, appropriating scarcely enough to maintain the works already built. Major Stevens, deeply interested in the proper fortification of the coast, both from his professional knowledge and experience and his enlarged and patriotic views, with his accustomed zeal and energy undertook the task of inculcating upon the country and Congress sound ideas in regard to this important subject, and of obtaining the appropriations necessary to keep up and complete existing works. In this, as in everything he undertook, was evinced his prominent characteristic of going to the bottom of a subject, of basing his action upon broad principles; and so, instead of being satisfied with simply securing the needed appropriations for the time being, he treats of the whole system of fortifications required for national defense, both present and future. He had repeated conferences with General Shields on this subject, who in March, as chairman of the Military Committee, brought into the Senate a favorable report and bill. In support of this, and advocating a proper system of coast defenses, Major Stevens wrote a number of articles, which were published in the "National Intelligencer" of Washington, the "Boston Post," Portland "Eastern Argus," "Bangor Democrat," and papers in New York, Richmond, New Orleans, and other places. He caused these articles, with Shields's report, to be sent to many officers and influential men in different parts of the country, urging them to advocate the matter on patriotic grounds. These articles were much commended, especially by his brother officers of the engineers.

He also at this time published in the "Boston Post" an article on the lighthouse system.

In April, 1852, Major Stevens was appointed a member of the Lighthouse Board, which was considered no slight honor, and which added much to his responsibilities and his duties. His colleagues on the board were all men of talent and reputation, the association with whom was congenial and gratifying. In May he visited Wilmington on this duty.

The Bucksport house had remained on his hands all this time, a source of more care than income; but in April a purchaser was found in Mr. Knox for $1350, evidently quite a sacrifice.

He took his two elder children, Hazard and Sue, to Newport for the summer; but his wife and Maude, the youngest child, remained in Washington.

General Franklin Pierce, having been nominated for the presidency by the Democratic party, was outrageously assailed by the unscrupulous press and partisans of the other side on account of his services in Mexico, and even his personal courage was impugned. Major Stevens, having met Pierce in Mexico, and having been favorably impressed by him, was indignant at these slanders, and felt called upon to aid in refuting them. Accordingly he published six letters in the "Boston Post" and two in the "Republic," a Washington paper, warmly, but in a temperate and courteous style, vindicating the unjustly assailed public man. He takes pains in these articles to eulogize the military talents of General Scott, the rival candidate nominated by the Whig party, quotes his favorable mention of Pierce in his reports of operations in Mexico, and shows that the rival candidates entertained warm feelings of esteem for each other, thus ingeniously making Scott a witness to refute his own reckless partisans. He concludes the last article as follows:—

"You well know, Mr. Editor, my exalted appreciation of the conduct and services of General Scott in Mexico. It has been a pleasing reflection that the standard-bearers of the two great parties were warm personal friends, each possessing in an eminent degree the respect and confidence of the other. The friends of General Pierce have never claimed that he was a great military man. They concede with pride and gratification that General Scott is, and that he is a judge of military qualities. They simply claim that General Pierce in his service in Mexico did his whole duty as a son of the Republic, that he was eminently patriotic, disinterested, and gallant, and that it has added a laurel to his beautiful civic wreath: as a citizen he has been ready to make sacrifices for his country; as a soldier and commander, he has shown gallantry before the enemy, and was eminently the friend and father of his command."

Colonel Charles G. Greene, editor of the "Post," writes that General Pierce was much pleased with, and highly commended, these letters.

Major Stevens always took great interest in public affairs. He was emphatically a national man. He held the Union as the noblest work of our Revolutionary patriots, and as indispensable to liberty and national greatness. An ardent Democrat from boyhood, he regarded the Democratic party as preëminently the national party, the party of progress. He fully justified the Mexican war, the great Democratic measure, and believed with full faith in the future growth and destiny of the Great Republic. The slavery question, destined in a few brief years to wreck that party and so nearly destroy the nation, was still in abeyance, and it was almost universally believed that the compromise of 1850 had averted all danger from that quarter.

Not content with vindicating Pierce in the papers, Major Stevens now concluded to support him on the stump. He wrote Gayton P. Osgood, and other friends in Massachusetts, as to the advisability of this step, but received rather discouraging replies, one correspondent even taking him to task for speaking so highly of General Scott in his articles, and recommending him to become a thoroughgoing partisan if he took the stump.

But as usual he held to his own opinion, and in August addressed a large public meeting in Hillsborough, N. H., in support of the Democratic principles and candidate, and later, in October, spoke in Andover, Newport, and Portsmouth. His brother officer and friend, Colonel James L. Mason, also addressed the meeting in Newport, and Hon. Charles Levi Woodbury spoke with him in Portsmouth. In his speeches Major Stevens took pains to do full justice to General Scott as a military man, without disparaging him as a statesman or otherwise. His arguments were drawn from the ideas and objects of the two parties, — a contest of principles, not men.

It appears that the course of the young army officer in stumping for Pierce, and as in Mason's case even stirring up other officers to do likewise, excited no little commotion in the War Department, for it was a Whig administration. On his return, the Secretary of War, Charles M. Conrad, undertook to take him to task for it, and wrote Major Stevens a severe letter, demanding an explanation of his conduct. This was soon bruited about Washington, and many of his friends and brother officers came anxiously to advise with him about it. They felt that he was in an embarrassing position, and one from which he could hardly hope to extricate himself with credit, and they were not a little troubled as to the outcome.

At length Major Stevens prepared his answer to the Secretary, and, before sending it, read it to a group of his anxious brother officers. In a direct, forcible, but courteous style, he reminded the Secretary that, in becoming an officer of the army, he had not forfeited his rights as a citizen, nor become relieved from his duties as such; that, while he had never failed in the respect due his superior officers, he had the right of an American citizen to advocate such public measures as he deemed best for the country, and to vote for the public servants best fitted to carry them out; and he concluded in a somewhat sarcastic but perfectly respectful way by calling the Secretary's attention to the fact that General Scott himself was a candidate for the presidency, and was setting the example of that participation in politics which the Secretary so severely reprobated, and suggested that his animadversions would have greater weight with the service, and be more worthy the dignity of the War Department, if launched against the senior major-general of the army instead of a simple lieutenant and brevet major; that they were more applicable to the former than the latter, and might well be deemed an attempt to scourge General Scott over his back.

As Major Stevens read aloud this letter, the faces of his friends cleared up; soon they began to applaud it, and as he finished they crowded around him with cheers and laughter and exclamations, — "That 's good! that covers the ground!" "You are right, Stevens. You are perfectly right." "He can't answer it," etc. Sure enough, the Secretary did not answer it, and attempted no further action.

In fact, Major Stevens had now become quite a leader among the able young officers. They were constantly calling at his house, and discussing with him the measures he was pushing forward for the improvement of the army, fortifications, etc. He was always ready to assist any of them, too, and it was known that his aid was frequently effective. He obtained a detail on the Coast Survey for his friend, Captain J. C. Foster, and secured for several others lighthouse inspectorships. He also had a number of the engineer company detailed on the Coast Survey, although his friends Cullum, G. W. Smith, and McClellan strenuously opposed it.

Writes a young man on the survey, whose pay Major Stevens had tried to increase but without success: —

"Having been informed to-day that you did not succeed in your efforts to make my compensation $1500 per annum from October 1, 1851, and consequently was obliged to pay out of your own pocket $50 to make your word good, I believe it unbecoming a gentleman to remain a moment longer in possession of said money. The inclosed check will indemnify you for your loss sustained for my sake, and joyfully I return my heartfelt thanks for the efforts you have made in my behalf."

Writes Cullum from West Point: —

"Your feeling and commendatory remarks on the death of private Logan were read to the company [engineer], and will doubtless produce an excellent impression."

In truth, these personal demands grew to be a grievous burden upon his time and energies, yet he never refused his aid to any claim of friendship or desert. Among others a lady, who had long prosecuted a claim before Congress in vain, was introduced by his corps chief, General Totten, to Major Stevens, as the only man who could win her cause. Although the latter felt that this was a task altogether outside of his sphere of duty, and one which should not have been thrust upon him, he cheerfully undertook it, and succeeded in having it allowed by Congress.

The friendship between Major Stevens and Professor Bache grew stronger the longer they were associated together. They appreciated and admired each other. Both were gifted with uncommon powers of mind, uprightness and purity of character, and disinterestedness. Bache was more the philosopher, the student; Stevens, the man of action. Major Stevens also saw much of Professors Henry and Baird, of the Smithsonian. He took pains to meet the able men in Congress, and other men of talent and reputation who visited Washington. Occasionally of an evening he would take his little boy by the hand, and make the rounds of Willard's and other hotels, meeting and chatting with old army and other friends and acquaintances.

With but little intermission, Major Stevens was an indefatigable worker, and never so well content as when driving his work at high pressure; and his sound judgment guided his energy so well that he would throw off an enormous load with astonishing rapidity. He had the faculty of getting a great deal of work out of his subordinates. But, not realizing that others lacked equal ability and power of labor, he was at times too exacting and severe. He was also inclined to overrate both the good qualities and the ability of others, and too often had cause to regret having done so from the ingratitude of many whom he befriended.

The two elder children, Hazard and Sue, returned to Washington in October, and Miss Mary W. Hazard, Mrs. Stevens's sister, also came on and spent the winter with them.

The youngest daughter, Kate, was born in the Third Street house on November 17, 1852.

In September Major Stevens with Professor Bache was appointed on a commission for the improvement of the James, Appomattox, and Cape Fear rivers, and in November visited Richmond and Wilmington on this duty.

But all these additional duties and pursuits made no impairment of his vigorous hold upon, and improvement of, the Coast Survey. The character and standing of the office was steadily rising, and able young officers were glad to accept details in it under Major Stevens. Lieutenant John G. Foster became his principal assistant. Professor H. E. Hilgard, who afterwards rose to be chief of the Coast Survey, had charge of the computing; Lieutenant Richard C. Rush, and afterwards Lieutenant A. A. Gibson, of drawing; and Lieutenant E. B. Hunt, of engraving. The field work, as fast as it came in, was given to the public in preliminary sketches, or charts, which served as a great incentive both to parties in the field, who saw at once the fruits of their labors, and to the office force in affording a better opportunity to train the younger members, and prepare them for the finished charts; and for the first time the annual report was illustrated by these sketches, giving all the field work done to date. He greatly facilitated the sale and distribution of Coast Survey maps, declaring that "they should be carried to every man's door having an interest in commerce, navigation, geography, or science." He took every means to encourage and reward the deserving, and opened the office to young men to learn the art of engraving, for there was a scarcity of skillful engravers, most of whom were foreigners. He reports: —

> "The system of teaching the art of engraving to youths of promise is succeeding admirably. By combining lessons in drawing, instructions at night schools, with engraving, the best spirit is excited, and the greatest excellence attained. There are now six lads in the office, whose terms vary from two to nineteen months.
>
> "During the past year there has been a visible improvement of the office in all its branches, and it is my pleasure and duty to bear unqualified testimony to the zeal and efficiency of the several assistants in charge of the departments, and of the numerous employees under them. Each man has shown an honest purpose to do his duty, and I have been much oftener obliged to moderate exertion than to rebuke indifference and neglect."

And Professor Bache in his reports declared: —

> "The office under the charge of Major Stevens has improved in the system and order of every one of its divisions; and the zeal and ability of the assistant in charge has been reflected in the spirit of the officers under him, and in the general diligence of the employees. The office is characterized by a very marked spirit of industry, of working to results, and of progress. Every encouragement, as it should be, is afforded to those who endeavor to advance in their several occupations.

"The office work has, by great diligence on the part of the persons employed, and by the excellent administrative arrangements of Major Stevens, been kept close to the field work. In no former year have so many preliminary sketches been promptly issued, and so much information of various kinds been published, or furnished to the officers of government or to individuals."

CHAPTER XV

GOVERNOR, WASHINGTON TERRITORY. — EXPLORATION, NORTHERN ROUTE

The triumph of the Democratic party in November, 1853, and the election of General Franklin Pierce as the next President insured a more vigorous policy of exploration and settlement of the vast domain stretching from the Mississippi to the Pacific. Major Stevens was strongly attracted to this field. It appealed to his ambition. It afforded a greater opportunity for public service and achievement. Prominent and gratifying as was the position and standing he held in Washington, he realized its limitations. He knew, too, that with the army on a peace footing and filled with young officers, no promotion in his corps could be expected for years. In brief, feeling the powers and ambition of a leader, he was not content to remain longer a subordinate.

In March Congress formed the new Territory of Washington out of the northern half of what was then Oregon, being the territory extending from the Columbia River and the 46th parallel northward two hundred and fifty miles to the British Possessions and the 49th parallel, and from the crest of the Rocky Mountains westward six hundred miles to the Pacific, an area larger than New England and New York combined. Save a handful of settlers on the lower Columbia and the shores of Puget Sound, and a few missionary and trading posts in the interior, the whole vast region was unsettled, and much of it unexplored by civilized man. It contained many thousands of Indians, some of whom had lately been at war with the whites, and regarded their approach with jealous and hostile eyes; the Indian title to the land had not been extinguished; and there were troublesome questions with the Hudson Bay Company, which still held its posts in the Territory, and claimed extensive rights as guaranteed by treaty.

On March 3 Congress appropriated $150,000 for the exploration and survey of railroad routes from the Mississippi to the Pacific, to be expended by the Secretary of War under the direction of the President. Jefferson Davis entered the new cabinet as Secretary of War, and it was early determined to survey four principal routes to the Pacific.

Early in the year Major Stevens applied for the governorship of the new Territory, to which was attached, *ex officio*, the superintendency of Indian affairs, and also for the charge of the exploration of the Northern route. Either of these fields was enough to fully task the most able and energetic man, but his ambition reached for both. Equally characteristic was the high ground upon which he based his application. He asked the appointment, not as the reward of political services, nor for the sake of personal or political friendship, but because he was the fittest man for the place, the one who could best serve the public interests. He told General Pierce that if he could find any one else better qualified for the position, who would accept it, it was his duty to appoint him. There was no question on that score. But his wife and many of his friends thought that he was making a great personal sacrifice in relinquishing the enviable position he had attained in Washington for the toils, hardships, and dangers of the Western exploration and governorship. Professor Bache was of this opinion, and deeply regretted to lose his efficient assistant and friend.

One of the first acts of the new President was to send the name of Isaac I. Stevens to the Senate as governor of Washington Territory; he was confirmed, and his commission was issued March 17. He was just thirty-four years old, in the prime of life and of mental and physical powers.

Major Stevens's letter of resignation from the army and General Totten's reply show the cordial and appreciative feelings of both.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 21, 1853.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOSEPH G. TOTTEN,
Chief Engineer.

Sir, — I herewith resign my commission of lieutenant of engineers and brevet major United States army, to take effect on Wednesday, the 16th instant.

This resignation is tendered with a profound sense of the high honor, intelligence, and sentiment of duty which is characteristic of the officers with whom I have been associated the best years of my life, whom I have known and honored in peace and war, in sunshine and in storm, and whose equals I can scarcely expect to find in the new career upon which I have entered. I shall carry into civil life the conviction that the country owes the army a debt of gratitude, and is yet to receive signal benefits at its hands.

This conviction, rest assured, will show itself both in words and deeds whenever the service has to be vindicated or maintained.

To yourself, both personally and officially, as a friend and as a superior officer, permit me to acknowledge the kindness and confidence which I have received at your hands. It has had no hindrance or interruption during the period of nearly fourteen years, many of them years of weighty responsibilities and perplexing cares, during which I have served under your command.

And to me, sir, not only my commanding officer, but my honored friend, it is the completest of satisfactions to be able to say that during my service in the army I have not had a serious difficulty with a brother officer, and that I am not aware that between me and any officer in or out of the service there is the slightest feeling of unkindness.

Very truly and respectfully,
Your friend and obedient servant,
ISAAC I. STEVENS.

Writes General Totten in reply: —

While regretting that the corps of engineers are thus deprived of the future services of an officer whose high traits of character have, both in peace and war, so fully vindicated its position, I anticipate the more unhesitatingly that these characteristic qualities will continue to procure for you, in the new and wider scenes on which you have now entered, all the rewards which they so justly merit. . . .

For myself, I have to make acknowledgment for great assistance rendered in every form, and under all the circumstances that your military duties admitted, — at all times fulfilling my wishes, abridging my cares, and exalting the usefulness and reputation of the corps. And in all our personal relations you have observed a kind consideration which I have fully appreciated. These things have created a warm interest in your welfare, and make me feel that, while the service is losing a most valuable officer, I am parting from a friend.

I remain with high respect,
J. G. TOTTEN,
Bvt. Brig.-Gen. and Col. Engineers.

Major Stevens turned over the charge of Fort Knox to Colonel John L. Smith, and was succeeded on the Coast Survey by Captain H. W. Benham. Major Stevens had long since overcome the ill feelings excited by the vigorous and drastic way in which he had reformed the office, and had long since won the confidence of the force, and their admiration as well. They deeply regretted his departure, and in token of their esteem presented him with a beautiful service of plate, consisting of a large silver pitcher and salver, with two goblets, in *repoussé* work.

PRESENTED TO
ISAAC I. STEVENS,
GOVERNOR
OF THE TERRITORY OF WASHINGTON,
LATE BREVET MAJOR, CORPS OF ENGINEERS, U. S. A.,
AND ASSISTANT IN CHARGE OF THE OFFICE OF THE
U. S. COAST SURVEY,
AS A TOKEN OF ESTEEM, BY HIS
FRIENDS ON THE SURVEY,
WASHINGTON, D. C.,
MARCH, 1853.

In his next annual report after Major Stevens had left the Coast Survey, Professor Bache remarks: —

"The gain to the country in his appointment, and especially to that new region to which he has been called, will no doubt be great, but our loss is proportionably great. An administrative ability of a high order was joined to unceasing activity and great force of character; varied general and professional knowledge to great clearness in discerning ends, and fixedness of purpose in pursuing them; remarkable knowledge of men, and easy control of those connected in business with him, to personal qualities which rendered official intercourse agreeable to those about him. The system with which he followed up plans, complicated as well as simple, insured success in his administration, and was felt in every department of the office, of which he had thoroughly mastered the details as well as the general working. The experience acquired by such an officer is invaluable to the work, and not soon to be replaced, whatever may be the resources of his successor."

A remark of Benham's, soon after he assumed charge, well illustrates his egotistic and assuming character: "Major Stevens grew up with the office from its infancy, but I grappled the lion when full-grown." Benham did not long remain on the survey.

Scarcely was the ink dry on his commission, when Governor Stevens set to work to obtain charge of the exploration of the Northern route, and the rapid and masterly way in which he effected it, and planned the survey and increased its magnitude and importance, must have astonished the red tape officials of Washington. As usual, all his recommendations were based upon the highest grounds of public welfare and public service. On March 21 he writes the Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, a strong letter, proposing to conduct an exploration to determine the emigrant route, and the route for a railroad from the sources of the Mississippi to Puget Sound, and submits a memoir for accomplishing it by means of three parties, with estimates of organization and cost in detail, and concludes, "Should an expedition be intrusted to my charge, I pledge the devotion of all my force, energy, and judgment to its accomplishment."

The following day he addresses the Secretary of State, William L. Marcy, submitting his project, and showing that he could best promote the interests of the new Territory by exploring the route to it, obtaining a large amount of useful information in relation to the agricultural, mineral, commercial, and manufacturing resources, and publishing the information thus obtained, thereby inviting emigrants, filling up the Territory, and developing its resources. He shows that this duty need not greatly delay the organization of territorial government, and calls attention to —

> "the great influence which this exploration will exercise over the Indian tribes, the exceeding efficiency which it will give to me in discharge of my duties as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, and the interesting information which it will enable me to collect in regard to their numbers, customs, locations, history, and traditions. This I design making the subject of a special communication to the Department of the Interior. Should my views meet the approbation of the department, I will earnestly request that the necessary communication be had with the War Department to arrange the exploration in

conformity with the plan which I have thus rapidly sketched. I ask that it be done with the least possible delay, so as to insure its complete success. I think it important that my arrangements here should be brought to a close in sixteen days, that previous to that time competent men be dispatched to the Mississippi River to assure the expedition, and thus we shall all be hard at work in the field the first week of May."

As governor he was under the jurisdiction of the State Department. On the same day he addresses a similar letter to the Secretary of the Interior, Robert McClelland, for, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, he came under that department. Governor Stevens enforced his views by personal interviews with the secretaries and the President; and his earnestness, zeal for the public service, sound judgment, and strong, convincing way of expressing his views, carried all before him. Within four days his proposal to lead the expedition was accepted, and all his suggestions adopted. The administration were only too glad to find such a man to head the most important of the explorations and insure its success. Perhaps no part of his career more clearly stamped Governor Stevens as a born leader of men than this. At a time when the new President and cabinet were overwhelmed with the pressing questions and personal claims ever engrossing the incoming administration, a mere subordinate, not content to simply await the instructions of his superiors, surveys the whole field of Western exploration intrusted to him, and its attendant problems of white settlement, Indians, etc., with comprehensive and far-sighted vision, decides upon the measures and action required by the needs of the country and the public service, and then so impresses his views upon the President and three great departments by sheer force of character, earnest patriotism, and sound, good sense, that all his recommendations are adopted without delay, and he is given *carte blanche* to carry them out. The bare conception, if broached in March, when the new administration assumed charge, of obtaining both the governorship of Washington Territory and the charge of the Northern Pacific exploration, of inducing three secretaries to adopt his measures, of completely organizing and outfitting and starting in the field a great expedition for the survey of two thousand miles of wilderness, and all to be accomplished within two months, would have seemed not merely bold, but visionary and presumptuous, and nothing could have relieved Governor Stevens from such reproach but the fact that all this he actually accomplished.

The following letter to Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War, shows how energetically Governor Stevens was already gathering information and assistance for the exploration. The last part touches upon a delicate question, the placing army officers under the command of a civilian, as Governor Stevens now was, a thing repugnant to all military ideas and usages, and almost without precedent. But Governor Stevens held that his case was altogether exceptional, and found no difficulty in securing the voluntary services of as many able officers as he needed. It is believed that there is no similar instance in our history where twelve army officers came under the command of a civilian: —

WASHINGTON, March 25, 1853.

HON. JEFFERSON DAVIS, *Secretary of War.*

Sir, — I am now quite certain that a sufficient number of army officers will volunteer to go with me on the proposed exploration from the headwaters of the Mississippi to Puget Sound, as will much reduce the force of civilians to be employed. Several accomplished officers would be glad to be detailed, and would do effective service as astronomers, engineers, artists, naturalists, draughtsmen, etc. I can make arrangements both with the American Fur and Hudson Bay Company for active coöperation and assistance. The distinguished geologist, Dr.

J. Evans, who has gone over the greater portion of the country between the Mississippi and the Pacific, has explored two of the passes in the Rocky Mountains north of the South Pass, and has received much information of the topography of the country, has kindly given me much valuable information, and is ready to coöperate with all his energy in a plan whereby each shall render to the other every possible facility, and best promote the public service without an unnecessary expenditure of means.

I think it exceedingly important that the whole exploration from the Mississippi River to Puget Sound, including a thorough examination of the passes of the Cascade Range, should be placed under the charge of the same person, he, under general instructions from the department, giving the necessary direction to the several parties, thus securing united and energetic action, and guarding against the almost certain failure of the expedition should it be divided into two independent commands. As soon as the department shall decide upon the scale of the operations, and shall issue its orders assigning me to the duty, which I presume from the correspondence with the Department of State to be definitely decided upon, I will at once submit a more detailed plan of operations, and make the necessary requisition for the detail of officers, and for the various facilities which may be extended by the administrative branches of the service. As in the Coast Survey, I propose no assignment of officers except by their own desire, and of officers who have especial adaptation to the particular duty.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

Isaac I. Stevens.

Among his first acts Governor Stevens, on March 31, applied for Brevet Captain George B. McClellan, then in Texas, to be "at once assigned to duty with me as my principal officer. I design to put him in charge of the exploration of the Cascade Range, and I can not only speak with confidence of his great ability for the particular duty, but as his friend can say that the duty will be in the highest degree agreeable to him."

WASHINGTON, April 5, 1853.

MY DEAR McCLELLAN, — I have succeeded in securing your detail to take charge of the Western party in the Northern Pacific Railroad survey.

You will get the orders to-day, and be directed probably to repair to New Orleans, and there await instructions. The route is from St. Paul, Minn., to Puget Sound by the great bend of the Missouri River through a pass in the Rocky Mountains near the 49th parallel. A strong party will operate westward from St. Paul; a second but smaller party will go up the Missouri to the Yellowstone, and there make arrangements, reconnoitre the country, etc., and on the junction of the main party they will push through the Blackfoot country, and, reaching the Rocky Mountains, will keep at work there during the summer months. The third party, under your command, will be organized in the Puget Sound region, you and your scientific corps going over the Isthmus, and will operate in the Cascade Range, and meet the party coming from the Rocky Mountains.

As soon as my force is at work in these mountains, I shall push forward with a small reconnoitring force and find you, and, after conference with you, arrange the entire plan of operations.

Your scientific corps will consist of a physician and naturalist, an astronomer, a draughtsman and barometer man, and an officer of the artillery, Johnson K. Duncan, who, I am informed by Foster, is a strong friend of yours, and will work under you. You will have authority to call upon the officers and troops stationed in the Territories of Oregon and Washington, and I have no doubt you will be able to secure valuable assistance. At the same time funds will be placed in your hands to hire suitable guides, hunters, etc. A complete set of instruments and appliances will be sent with the necessary instructions.

Your friend, Professor Baird, is arranging the natural history part of the business. The expedition will be altogether the most complete that has ever set out in this country, and if we are true to it, the results will be satisfactory to the country. The amount of work in the Cascade Range and eastward, say to the probable junction of the parties at the great bend of the north fork of the Columbia River, will be immense. Recollect, the main object is a railroad survey from the headwaters of the Mississippi River to Puget Sound.

We must rely upon the ordinary astronomical observations in the field, upon the odometer and barometer and the compass, for getting the direction, length, and profiles of routes. With the sextant for determining height along the route, and with a good sketcher and draughtsman, you will be able to get good results. I may get for you a small detachment of sappers, and I shall try to get you assigned to duty according to your brevet rank.

I telegraphed you some days since, asking your views, but in consequence of your great distance from Washington it was essential to act at once. Knowing your views so intimately in relation to such service, and venturing on our long acquaintance and mutual friendship, I have in the strongest terms pressed your case, on the ground that, could you be consulted, the duty would be sought by you. In my telegraphic message I informed you that I was put in charge of the duty in consequence of my civil position. It has been done at the joint desire of the War Department, of the Department of State, and of the Department of the Interior. Officers have volunteered for the service, and I shall receive the services of several very valuable and experienced men. I have in the strongest terms taken the ground that my having left the army and standing in a civil position would not, under the circumstances of the case, be any objection on your part to acting under my direction.

As your friend, and knowing the opportunity for distinction it would give you, I would not hesitate for a moment.

One word more as to the railroad survey. We must not be frightened with long tunnels or enormous snows, but set ourselves to work to overcome them. When you reach New Orleans you will find your instructions.

Truly your friend,

Isaac I. Stevens.

The warning in the last paragraph seems almost prophetic; for, as will be seen hereafter, McClellan's fear of deep snows caused him to fail in an important part of his survey of the Cascade passes, viz., the determining the depth of winter snow.

Governor Stevens also obtained the detail for his survey of Lieutenant A. J. Donelson, of the engineer corps, and ten non-commissioned officers and men, of the engineer company, also known as sappers and miners, and of Lieutenant Beekman Du Barry, of the 3d artillery. He also obtained from the War Department authority to call upon the several army administrative departments for transportation, subsistence, and arms, and even the pay of two civilian surgeons and naturalists, thus providing for all the expenses of the expedition except those pertaining to civilians employed as a scientific corps and their assistants, which were to be defrayed by the funds allotted to the Northern route out of the civil appropriation, viz., $40,000 out of the $150,000 thus appropriated. By these arrangements he vastly increased the extent, thoroughness, and value of his exploration.

On April 7 Governor Stevens sent Lieutenant Donelson to Montreal armed with letters from the British Minister in Washington to Sir George Simpson, governor of the Hudson Bay Company, to obtain all the information possible relative to the country from the Great Lakes to the Pacific, the location of the trading-posts, the amount of supplies obtainable from them for the exploration party in case of emergency, the names of hunters and half-breeds who might serve as guides and interpreters, and to learn all possible about the geography, and examine all books and maps, making copies of the latter if necessary, etc.

"The information we already have of this region," he writes Donelson, "is based upon the following works: Lewis and Clarke's Travels; Irving's Astoria and Rocky Mountains; Travels by the Missionary De Smet, Nicollet, and Pope; Governor Simpson's Journey around the World; and some information, not yet published, obtained from Dr. Evans on his geological survey of those regions. A book recommended by the British Minister, 'Hudson Bay Company,' by Montgomery Martin, I wish you to obtain. He suggested it might be obtained from Governor Simpson. As soon as you have finished your inquiries at Montreal, which I think you can do in a week, return to Washington, and report to me in person.

"In reference to the detachment (sappers), it is necessary that the men be selected with great care. None should be taken who cannot assist the scientific corps as sketchers, draughtsmen, or collectors, etc. It is necessary that they should be put under special training. Captain Seymour, perhaps, might be willing to take charge of one, and Lieutenant Du Barry of another, giving them instructions in the use of the barometer and astronomical instruments used in the field."

This is interesting as showing how little was then known of the region to be explored, and how few and meagre were the works describing it.

Governor Stevens had thus been driving the work of preparation and organization for a fortnight, when, on April 8, the formal order placing him in charge and giving full instructions was issued by the War Department. These instructions exactly embody his own suggestions, much of them in the very language of his letters and memoir to Secretary Davis. In fact, he really prepared his own instructions. The following brief synopsis will give some idea of the scope and magnitude of the exploration, of the task Governor Stevens had set himself: —

1. The exploration and survey of a route for a railroad from the sources of the Mississippi River to Puget Sound is placed in charge of Isaac I. Stevens, governor of the Territory of Washington, to whom all officers detailed for the same will report for instructions.

2. To operate from St. Paul, or some eligible point on the Upper Mississippi, towards the great bend of the

Missouri River, and thence on the table-land between the tributaries of the Missouri and the Saskatchewan to some eligible pass in the Rocky Mountains. A depot to be established at Fort Union, at the mouth of the Yellowstone, with a subsidiary party to await the coming of the main party. A second party to proceed to Puget Sound and explore the passes of the Cascade Range, meeting the eastern party between that range and the Rocky Mountains, as may be arranged by Governor Stevens.

3. To explore the passes of the Cascade Range and Rocky Mountains from the 49th parallel to the headwaters of the Missouri River, and to determine the capacity of the adjacent country to supply, and of the Columbia and Missouri rivers and their tributaries to transport, materials for the construction of the road, great attention to be given geography and meteorology of the whole intermediate region, to the seasons and character of freshets; the quantities and continuance of its rains and snows, especially in the mountain ranges; to its geology; in arid regions the use of artesian wells; its botany, natural history, agricultural and mineral resources; the location, numbers, history, traditions, and customs of its Indian tribes; and such other facts as shall tend to develop the character of that portion of our national domain, and supply all the facts that enter into the solution of the particular problem of a railroad.

4–7. Assigns to survey, in addition to those already assigned, Captain John W. T. Gardiner, 1st dragoons; Second Lieutenant Johnson K. Duncan, 3d artillery; Second Lieutenant Rufus Saxton, 4th artillery; Second Lieutenant Cuvier Grover, 4th artillery; and Brevet Second Lieutenant John Mullan, 1st artillery; and twenty picked men of the 1st dragoons and two officers and thirty men to Captain McClellan's party.

8. The administrative branches of the army, on requi-

sition approved by Governor Stevens, to supply the officers, soldiers, and civil employees of the expedition (except the scientific corps and their assistants), with transportation, subsistence, medical stores, and arms, and to furnish funds for the same when not supplied in kind.

9–10. After completion of field work, the expedition to rendezvous at some suitable point in Washington Territory to be designated by Governor Stevens, and reports to be prepared. Officers and enlisted men to be sent to their stations and employees to be discharged.

11. $40,000 set apart from the appropriation for the survey thus intrusted to Governor Stevens.

It is difficult to realize the magnitude of the task here outlined. It was to traverse and explore a domain two thousand miles in length by two hundred and fifty in breadth, stretching from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, across a thousand miles of arid plains and two great mountain ranges, a region almost unexplored, and infested by powerful tribes of predatory and warlike savages; to determine the navigability of the two great rivers, the Missouri and the Columbia, which intersect the region; to locate by reconnoissance and to survey a practicable railroad route; to examine the mountain passes and determine the depth of winter snows in them; to collect all possible information on the geology, climate, flora and fauna, as well as the topography, of the region traversed; and finally to treat with the Indians on the route, cultivate their friendship, and collect information as to their languages, numbers, customs, traditions, and history; and all this, including the work of preparation and organization, to be accomplished in a single season.

It was Governor Stevens's plan to effect this vast work by means of two parties operating simultaneously from both ends of the route, the principal one starting from St. Paul at the eastern end, under his own immediate charge;

and the other, starting from the western end, under McClellan, to meet on the upper Columbia plains between the two great mountain ranges; and two subsidiary parties, — one, under Lieutenant Donelson, to ascend the Missouri to Fort Union with a stock of supplies, and there await the coming of the main party; and the other, under Lieutenant Saxton, to proceed from the lower Columbia to the Bitter Root valley, in the heart of the Rocky Mountains, with an additional stock of supplies for the main party. The subsidiary parties were also to examine the country traversed by them, and collect all the information possible bearing on the various objects of the expedition. By this plan McClellan was required simply to explore the Cascade Range, or about 200 miles of the route; while Governor Stevens allotted all the remainder, some 1800 miles, including the great plains, the Rocky and Bitter Root Mountains, to the parties under his immediate charge.

During the next four weeks Governor Stevens drove forward the work of preparing and organizing the expedition with tremendous energy. He applied for and obtained the assignments of officers and men from the army; made requisitions upon the administrative branches for supplies and funds for the several parties; obtained $6000 from the Interior Department for the purchase of Indian goods and for treating with them; employed A. W. Tinkham, his former assistant at Fort Knox, and Fred. W. Lander, afterwards the Brigadier-General Lander who was wounded at Ball's Bluff and died of his wounds, as civil engineers; appointed George W. Stevens as secretary and astronomer; placed Professor Baird, of the Smithsonian, in charge of the zoölogical and botanical collections, and of preparing the outfits and instructions for field work; made Isaac Osgood, his former clerk at Bucksport, disbursing officer; Dr. John Evans, geologist; Drs.

George Suckley and J. G. Cooper, surgeons and naturalists; J. M. Stanley, artist, and engaged a number of other subordinates, including six young gentlemen who went as aides.

Early in April Lieutenant Saxton and Lieutenant Duncan started for the Columbia via the Isthmus and San Francisco, with detailed instructions, that no time might be lost in organizing the western parties, and were followed by McClellan as soon as he reached Washington from Texas and received his instructions. He was also furnished by Governor Stevens with letters from Sir George Simpson to the officers of the Hudson Bay Company's posts, and with letters from the governor to many of the prominent American settlers in Washington and Oregon, and also a circular letter bespeaking their good-will and support for Captain McClellan.

Governor Stevens also placed under McClellan's charge the construction of a military wagon-road from Fort Steilacoom, on Puget Sound, to Fort Walla Walla on the Columbia, for which Congress had appropriated $20,000, and which the Secretary of War had placed in Governor Stevens's hands, with authority to assign an officer or a civil engineer to its construction, as he deemed best. The governor gave very full instructions in regard to this road; furnished the names of prominent citizens and advised McClellan to consult with them as to the best location for the road, and gave him full notes of his correspondence with them bearing on the matter.

Sir George Simpson having proposed to forward an extra stock of supplies to his posts in the interior for the expedition, Governor Stevens made haste to decline the proffered assistance, not wishing to incur such an obligation to a foreign company, assuring Sir George that his own government would provide ample supplies, and that he merely wished to know what the company's posts could spare from their usual stock in case of emergency. On this point he is emphatic in his instructions to Saxton and McClellan: —

> "I am exceedingly desirous no exertion should be spared to have means of our own for our expedition, and shall much prefer to be in condition to extend aid than to be obliged to receive aid from others. Whilst we will gratefully receive aid from the company in case of necessity, let it be our determination to have within ourselves the means of the most complete efficacy. I am more and more convinced that in our operations we should be self-dependent, and whilst we exchange courtesies and hospitalities with the Hudson Bay Company, the people and the Indians of the Territory should see that we have all the elements of success in our hands. The Indians must look to us for protection and counsel. They must see that we are their true friends, and be taught not to look, as they have been accustomed to, to the Hudson Bay Company. I am so impressed with this fact that I wish no Indian presents to be procured from British posts. I am determined, in my intercourse with the Indians, to break up the ascendency of the Hudson Bay Company, and permit no authority or sanction to come between the Indians and the officers of this government."

The Hudson Bay Company still held trading-posts in the new Territory at Steilacoom, Vancouver, Walla Walla, and Colville, and claimed extensive but ill-defined rights and possessions, and its officers lost no opportunity to cultivate the goodwill of Governor Stevens, hoping to win his favoring view, if not support, of their claims.

Lieutenants Donelson and Mullan, with part of the sappers, were sent to St. Louis to prepare the supplies, etc., for ascending the Missouri to Fort Union. Governor Stevens had already ascertained by correspondence the character of the river boats at St. Louis and at Pittsburg, and the cost of purchasing or chartering them, but was unable to find one of sufficiently light draught and power, and therefore decided to send the party by the American Fur Company's boat.

Captain Gardiner was dispatched to St. Paul to select the dragoon detachment, establish a camp, and make preliminary arrangements for starting the main party afield as early as possible. The civil engineers, Lander and Tinkham, were also sent to the same point to examine the crossings of the Mississippi and their approaches.

Lieutenant Grover, as assistant quartermaster and commissary of the expedition, was also sent to St. Louis, assisted by a civilian employee, to procure supplies and forward them to St. Paul. Lieutenant Du Barry was directed to push on beyond St. Paul to Pembina to procure guides.

The most detailed and careful instructions were furnished all these officers; requisitions and arrangements made with the officers of the army administrative branches in Washington, St. Louis, St. Paul, San Francisco, and Vancouver for the outfit and supply of the different parties; all existing information in the way of maps, reports, etc., was copied and furnished, and full instructions for the making and preservation of natural history collections, and for the astronomical and meteorological observations were prepared and printed, and placed in the hands of all those having charge of those branches.

The very full, carefully considered, and complete instructions given these various officers by Governor Stevens would fill two hundred pages. They are not only a remarkable monument of industry, but show a complete grasp and mastery of the whole field, great foresight of the conditions and difficulties to be encountered, and are remarkably clear and precise in stating the objects to be obtained, but leave much to the judgment of the officer addressed in the ways and means of attaining them.

Not content with omnivorously devouring all the books, reports, and maps upon the field of operations, and seeking information by correspondence with the officers of the Hudson Bay Company and citizens of Oregon and Washington, Governor Stevens procured and studied all the available works on the steppes of Russia and Asia, as throwing light upon the formation and characteristics of the great plains.

During these four weeks the Third Street house was filled with clerks and draughtsmen, hard at work on instructions, requisitions, maps, etc., with officers and civil employees conferring as to their duties and making preparations, and with many others anxious to accompany the expedition and seeking positions upon it; and was crammed from garret to cellar with books, maps, papers, instruments, arms, and other paraphernalia incident to such an undertaking. Professor Baird took the greatest interest in the scientific collections, preparing rules, and getting up panniers and apparatus, and made that feature so important that Governor Stevens was impelled to say, "I want you to understand, Professor Baird, that my exploration is something more than a natural-history expedition." The fitting out of the expedition attracted much attention in Washington, and the parlors were filled every evening with gentlemen connected with or interested in it. Among them was Fred. W. Lander, a tall, athletic young man, confident in bearing, frank and ready in conversation, and fond of relating the adventurous experiences and escapes, especially with horses, into which his daring not to say reckless disposition often led him. Lieutenant George B. McClellan, afterwards the well-known commander of the Army of the Potomac, was of charming manners and personality. On being asked how he liked being under Governor Stevens, he replied, "At any rate, I shall serve under a man of brains." Lieutenants Saxton and Grover rose to be major-generals in the Civil War. General Joseph Lane, who represented Oregon in Congress, was a frequent caller. He was a man of native grace and dignity of manner and fine character, — one of nature's noblemen.

The energy and capacity for effective work displayed by Governor Stevens during this time astonished his friends. His labors with the pen alone were enough to fully occupy any man. Besides this, he was incessantly engaged in consultations, conferences, and interviews with the subordinates and others, and was embracing every opportunity of talking with men who had experience on the plains or the Pacific coast. George Stevens declared that no human being could stand such a strain, and on another occasion exclaimed, "The major is crazy, actually crazy, or he never could work as he does!"

In just a month from the date of the order placing him in charge, Governor Stevens had effected the whole work of organization and outfitting, and on May 9 left Washington for St. Paul to start the expedition. During the same month he also broke up housekeeping, disposed of his furniture, and moved his family into private lodgings. His wife was seriously ill, and was obliged to remain in Washington with her young child and her sister Mary until sufficiently recovered to stand the journey to Newport.

He also at this time selected and purchased of D. Appleton & Co., of New York, the Territorial Library, — for which $5000 had been appropriated by Congress, — and had the books sent out by sea around Cape Horn. This was no small task, for he went over the lists of books and made the selection with great pains. He stated in his first message to the legislature that he had taken care to get the best books in each department of learning, and had applied to the executive of every State and Territory and to many learned societies to donate their publications.

This work is not the place to narrate the progress and results of that great exploration and survey. They are ably and fully recorded by Governor Stevens himself in three large volumes, comprising 1500 pages, with many views and illustrations, published by Congress, being the first and twelfth volumes (the latter in two parts) of "Reports of the Explorations and Surveys for a Railroad Route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean." And it is only from these pages that one can learn and appreciate with what thoroughness and completeness Governor Stevens executed the vast work intrusted to him. For years these volumes were the great storehouse of information relating to the region treated by them, the source of innumerable reports and articles, and are to-day full of interest and valuable information. These reports really embody the results of three years' labors. And it will be related farther on how Governor Stevens, not content with having most successfully conducted his exploration across the continent in one season and fully performed his instructions, did, of his own patriotic devotion to the public interests, carry on that great work for two years longer, using the Indian service and the volunteer forces under his command, and gave the full and final results of his labors in vol. xii., published in 1860.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PARTY. — THE START

Leaving Washington May 9, and, after spending a day in New York to complete arrangements, going by way of Detroit and Chicago, Governor Stevens reached St. Louis on the 15th. Here he was disappointed in finding the outfits not so far advanced as he expected, and was even seriously alarmed at the mules furnished by the St. Louis quartermaster, which were only three or four years old, and perfectly wild and unbroken. This was the more inexcusable from the fact that he had previously sent Mr. Charles Taplin to St. Louis with instructions that only well-broken and serviceable animals were to be procured. Consequently he remained there a week hastening the necessary outfits, during which time he started Lieutenant Donelson's party up the Missouri on the American Fur Company's steamboat with Lieutenant Mullan, Mr. William H. Graham, and six sappers, and 10,000 rations. Dr. John Evans and Mr. Alexander Culbertson also accompanied them. The latter, having spent twenty years on the upper Missouri as a fur-trader and married a Blackfoot squaw, had great influence over that warlike tribe. He was appointed by Governor Stevens as special agent for these predatory and intractable savages, and sent forward to prepare the way for the expedition through their country by securing guides and hunters and arranging for a council.

Leaving St. Louis on the 23d and proceeding up the Mississippi, Governor Stevens, in order to repair the neglect of the quartermaster, purchased at the several landings and at Galena a number of teams of strong, well-broken mules and horses, in some instances taking them off the wagons where they were at work. Four days were spent on the Father of Waters.

> "Leaving Galena on the 25th," says the governor, "on the steamer Nominee, we proceeded up the river, and were enabled to make short stops at Dubuque, Prairie du Chien, Lansing, La Crosse, and other places. Intervals of leisure were employed in reporting fully to the War and Interior Departments my proceedings thus far, and the arrangements in contemplation for the execution of my several trusts. The scenery on the Mississippi is bold and at times beautiful, though but little variety is presented. Bluff banks on both sides, topped with trees, line its banks, and occasionally marked views occur, among which I might mention as most prominent Lake Pepin, Maiden Rock, Barn Bluffs, etc.
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> "St. Paul is beautifully situated upon a high bluff on the east bank of the river, and is rapidly growing in size and importance."

St. Paul is said in the report to have then had a population of 1200.

While on the Nominee, Governor Stevens writes a letter of eight pages to his wife's brother, Mr. Daniel L. Hazard, who had had much experience with Mississippi boats,—but was then at Newport recovering from malarial illness, — on the draught, power, and size of steamboats suitable for the navigation of the upper Missouri, and suggests to him the opportunity for steamboating on Puget Sound, concluding with the following remarks, showing his own feelings towards the new country, and how completely he was adopting it: —

> "I have no doubt that it is one of the most delightful and salubrious regions in the whole country, with all the health of Newport, but with a grandeur and largeness of scenery far surpassing it. It is just such a place as I have for many years

proposed to myself, one of these days, to carve out a home. I am satisfied my family will all be pleased with their new home, and that we will be willing to settle down there for life."

Long before daylight the next morning after reaching St. Paul, Governor Stevens was in the saddle, riding to the camp established by Captain Gardiner two days before, and had the pleasure of rousing the gentlemen of the expedition from their sleep. The camp was situated on the borders of Lake Amelia, about nine miles from St. Paul and about three northwest from Fort Snelling, and, in honor of the President, the governor named it Camp Pierce.

> "About a quarter of a mile to the eastward lay another lake, connected with Lake Amelia by a creek, which was very convenient for watering our animals, and formed a fine meadow on which they grazed. These lakes furnished us with fish in abundance, consisting of bass, pickerel, and sunfish.
>
> "The mules presented a fine appearance, and were apparently strong and healthy, though young, and even more unbroken and unserviceable than I had feared. Not a single full team of broken animals could be selected, and well-broken riding animals were essential, for most of the gentlemen of the scientific corps were unaccustomed to riding. I felt that time was precious and a great difficulty to be overcome, so at once resolved that the whole force should set to work to break them. Fortunately, my purchase of mules along the river enabled me to break in the animals rapidly to the teams, by which they were started several days earlier than otherwise could have been done."

A letter of George W. Stevens gives the following amusing account of the scenes which occurred when every man, by the governor's order, set to work to break his own mule: —

> "Of the 200 mules received, much to the chagrin and disappointment of the major, not ten of them were broken. But though the unbroken and unqualified age of our young mules

presented a hindrance, the major has the more vigorously cut out his plans. In a week's time, of very hard labor on the part of the men, we were able to move. Even the members of the scientific corps put their shoulders to the wheel, and each gentleman broke his own riding animal. The operation of breaking these most stubborn of creatures was highly exciting and interesting. First they were tolled into a corral by leading in the bell mare, which they follow with the most laughable devotion. Then lassos were thrown over their necks, and after a long process of choking and hauling they were sufficiently exhausted to allow themselves to be led out and tied to a long picket rope stretched across stakes some four feet high. They did not at all relish the feeling of the rope about their necks, and such capers as they cut up, turning summersets 'both before and behind,' throwing themselves upon the ground, and jumping and doubling themselves with all the agility of the cat. At length nearly all of the 200 were tied to the picket rope, and, after a sufficiently elapsed interval to regain their minds and strength, the same antics were gone through with again. Some leaped over the ropes, some tangled themselves with their lariats. Breaking them to the saddle proved highly interesting. After breakfast each morning we all went out and saddled our own animals, and spent an hour or two in a *pleasant drive.* Behold some fifteen or twenty of us mounted; off we start, and in a moment all sorts of scenes are being enacted. Here one is thrown headforemost; here one is borne through the air with lightning speed, fortunate if not brushed off beneath the scrubby oaks. Some of the mules lie down, and some persist in running among a number of picketed animals, and tangling themselves in the lariats; the riders — however good — are sent 'bounding through the air.' I had a truly tough job in breaking my animal. Every time I mounted her I was sure to be thrown, and it was not until some weeks' march that she became well trained, but afterwards there was not a better-broken mule in the train. Many were badly beaten and bruised in the breaking operation, and certainly a whole month's delay in our arrival at Fort Union was the result of the selection of these young, unbroken animals by the St. Louis quartermaster."

The next few days the rains were almost incessant; but, says the governor, June 1: —

"Although it rained heavily all day, every one in camp was engaged in breaking mules, causing many an amusing scene. Several of the party were thrown repeatedly, but the determination they evince must overcome all obstacles; and I feel not only pleased to see their spirit, but to congratulate myself and them that no accident has occurred worthy of mention. Much hilarity was produced by the efforts of different persons, and each fall occasioned a laugh. Thus what I had seriously expected to prove a great difficulty was, in the midst of heavy rains and gloomy weather, a source of mirthful enjoyment."

The main party here organized, including a few members who joined soon after starting, consisted of Governor Isaac I. Stevens; Lieutenant Cuvier Grover, 4th artillery; Lieutenant Beekman Du Barry, 3d artillery; detachment of four sappers; detachment of twenty men, 1st dragoons; Fred. W. Lander, A. W. Tinkham, civil engineers; Dr. George Suckley, surgeon and naturalist; Isaac F. Osgood, disbursing agent; J. M. Stanley, artist; John Lambert, topographer; George W. Stevens, secretary and astronomer; James Doty, A. Remenyi, astronomical and magnetic observations; Joseph F. Moffett, meteorologist; T. S. Everett, quartermaster and commissary clerk; Elwood Evans, Thomas Adams, F. H. Burr, Max Strobel, A. Jekelfaluzy, B. F. Kendall, —— Evelyn, aides; C. P. Higgins, wagon-master; William Simpson, pack-master; Pierre Boutineau, Le Frambois, Belland, Henry Boulieau, Paul Boulieau, guides; Menoc, hunter; and sixty teamsters, packers, and voyageurs, numbering altogether one hundred and eleven members. Captain Gardiner was relieved from duty in consequence of illness, and did not accompany the expedition.

The pay was certainly moderate: $125 for Mr. Stanley, the artist; $100 to the civil engineers, Lander and Tinkham; and $25 to each aide, per month.

The subsidiary party, ascending the Missouri to Fort Union, where it was to join the main party, consisted of Lieutenant A. J. Donelson, engineer corps; Lieutenant John Mullan, 1st artillery; six sappers; William M. Graham, astronomer; Dr. John Evans, geologist; Alexander Culbertson, special Indian agent.

The other subsidiary party, which met the main party in the Rocky Mountains, consisted of Lieutenant Rufus Saxton, 4th artillery; Lieutenant Robert Macfeely, 4th infantry; Lieutenant Richard Arnold, 3d artillery; Mr. D. L. Arnold; Mr. D. S. Hoyt; detachment of eighteen soldiers; twenty-nine packers, herders, etc., — in all, fifty-two.

The western party consisted of Lieutenant George B. McClellan; Lieutenant Johnson K. Duncan, 3d artillery, astronomer, etc.; Lieutenant Henry C. Hodges, 4th infantry, quartermaster and commissary; Lieutenant Sylvester Mowry, 3d artillery, meteorologist; George Gibbs, geologist and ethnologist; J. F. Minter, civil engineer; Dr. J. C. Cooper, surgeon and naturalist; Mr. Lewis, interpreter; detachment of twenty-eight soldiers; thirty civil employees, — in all, sixty-six in number.

The entire force under Governor Stevens's command for the exploration comprised eleven officers and seventy-six enlisted men of the army, thirty-three members of the scientific corps, and one hundred and twenty civilian employees, teamsters, packers, guides, herders, voyageurs, etc., — altogether, some two hundred and forty.

Governor Stevens's general plan was, while surveying a continuous compass and odometer line with the principal train, to keep detached parties far out on the sides of the route, examining the topography of the country, and gathering all possible information concerning it, and thus to embrace the widest possible field in the exploration. The following pages will give simply the governor's personal experiences on the expedition, and largely in his own language, referring the reader to his reports, especially the final report in vol. xii., for the details of this most interesting exploration.

> "As rapidly as the breaking-in of the mules and heavy rains for half the time allowed, the expedition moved seventy miles up the Mississippi in detachments, crossed to the west bank, and on June 10 were again assembled on the Sauk River, two miles above its mouth, in Camp Davis, so named in honor of the Secretary of War. In this first movement of the expedition on the 31st, Lander was sent ahead to explore, and Tinkham to run the survey line. Doty on June 3, and Simpson on 4th, took the route with small trains, with such animals as were sufficiently broken in to be worked, and on the 6th Camp Pierce was broken up, and the remainder of the force followed in three parties, Grover with the scientific men and instruments by steamboat, Du Barry with Stanley, Dr. Suckley and sixteen dragoons, and Everett with the train, both these by land up the east bank of the river. Thus, despite the mules and the weather, the least possible time was lost in starting afield, and the young subordinates were being taught to command and operate detachments, which the governor regarded as of great importance, 'in order to infuse hope into the whole party, and avail myself of the present high spirit of the camp.'"

Having seen the several parties started off, and the camp broken up, the governor continues: —

> I remained at St. Anthony until noon of June 7 to secure the services of several voyageurs, and particularly of the guide Pierre Boutineau and the hunter Menoc, in which I was successful, and starting about noon, and taking a rapid conveyance, I pushed forward the same day forty miles, overtaking at Rum River Lieutenant Du Barry, and, some miles beyond, both Doty and Simpson, and reaching Sauk Rapids, a distance of thirty miles farther, by eleven A. M., found Mr. Tinkham actively engaged in the survey of that portion of the river. The crossing at St. Anthony is by a rope ferry, its motive power being the action of the current, having a short rope at the bow

and a longer or slack rope astern. On the west side of the Mississippi, about three miles above Rum River, there was a large encampment of Winnebago Indians, consisting of about one hundred lodges. These are constructed of oak bark, fastened by strips of buckskin over arched poles, resembling in shape the cover of a wagon; they are about eight feet high, and from ten to thirty feet long, according to the number of families to be accommodated. The chief's lodge in the centre is much larger, and distinguished by the flags upon it, two British and two American colors. The shores are lined with canoes, and the village extends an eighth of a mile along the river. The country, for the first seven miles after leaving camp and striking the St. Anthony road, is a wet prairie. After leaving St. Anthony the country appears to rise towards the north; the road lies on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, along the plateau, which is generally timbered with the smaller varieties of oak, in some places forming beautiful groves. On the road, and at Sauk Rapids, several additional men were engaged, among them some Canadian voyageurs. These men, being sometimes half-breeds, speak a jargon of patois French, Chippewa, and other Indian dialects. They are a hardy, willing, enduring class, and used to encounter all sorts of difficulties in their journey between different posts of the fur companies. They must be treated with kindness and a certain degree of familiarity, and, their confidence and affections being secured, they are the most obedient and hard-working fellows in the world. This morning I learned that Lieutenant Grover and his steamboat party had landed late last evening about five miles below Sauk River, and had there encamped. In the afternoon, accompanied by Boutineau, I crossed the Mississippi to find him, and went three miles in a drenching rain without reaching his position.

I dispatched Henry Boulieau in search of Lander, and he returned with the information that Lander was about eighteen miles ahead at Cold Spring, and that he had made there a good crossing for wagons.

June 9. I went to Mr. Lander's camp, and examined the crossing, which I find to be practicable, and the work well done.

June 10. I returned to Lieutenant Grover's camp, which was beautifully situated on the north bank of the Osakis or Sauk River, about two miles from its mouth. The grass was indifferent and backward, but, with half rations of oats, abundant for the animals; water excellent. In honor of the Secretary of War, we named it Camp Davis. Lieutenant Du Barry arrived this afternoon with his party, as did the small trains of Doty and Simpson. A very severe thunderstorm, with heavy rain for about five hours, occurred at night, amounting in the rain-gauge to 6.1 inches.

My acquaintance with the voyageurs, thus far, has impressed me favorably. They are thorough woodsmen, and just the men for prairie life also, going into the water as pleasantly as a spaniel, and remaining there as long as needed; stout, able-bodied, and willing to put their shoulders to the wheel whenever necessary; no slough or bog deters them.

CAMP DAVIS, two miles west of the Mississippi River,
June 10, 1853.

MY DEAREST WIFE, — We are getting on finely. Camp Pierce was broken up on Monday, and in five days we have gone up the river seventy miles, and the bulk of the party is now west of the Mississippi. Yesterday I rode forward twenty-six miles to the crossing of the Sauk River to make arrangements for the advance of the civil engineer party. I had previously traveled rapidly from St. Anthony to Sauk Rapids in a carriage, passing all the parties on the road. It was a beautiful ride all the way, and I had a most interesting companion in Pierre Boutineau, the great guide and voyageur of Minnesota. He is famous as a buffalo-hunter, is a Chippewa half-breed, and surpasses all of his class in truthfulness and great intelligence. Not only is he experienced in all the vicissitudes of travel and frontier life, being the hero of many interesting events, but he has the broadness of view of an engineer, and I am confident he will be of the greatest service to us in finding our way. At the Falls of St. Anthony, where he resides, he is greatly esteemed, and is known throughout the Territory. I breakfasted with him Monday morning, and was delighted with the affection and respect with which he inspired his whole household. There was his old Indian mother; his four children by his first wife, a half-breed; his second wife and babe; his sister; his brother and wife; and the wife of an absent brother. We all sat down to a breakfast of two roasted sucking-pigs, eggs, beefsteak, etc. He is a natural gentleman, and in his family I saw exhibited the most refined and courteous manners.

He drove a pair of very spirited horses, and on the road, seeing some plover, he called them to him and shot one. He understands, as Mr. Sibley in Washington told me, everything from shooting a bird or paddling a canoe to hunting buffalo, and conducting a large party through a long extent of difficult country. I have also secured Menoc, the best hunter of the Territory. He joins the party to-morrow, and will in ten days be able to supply us with deer and elk.

June 12. Messrs. Osgood and Kendall reached camp this morning with the barometers and india-rubber boats. At St. Louis I was telegraphed that many of the barometers had been broken, and they could not be supplied short of New York. They were absolutely indispensable. I sent Mr. Kendall there immediately, and in thirty days the boats and instruments were made and brought to my camp, eighty miles on our way. Mr. Everett also arrived about noon to-day. I regretted to observe that many of his animals were in very bad condition. Of our whole number some forty were disabled, and eight or ten so much so as to give very little hope that they could do any further service. I refused, however, to sell even these to the many applicants who expressed a willingness to take them off our hands below the cost of purchase. Assembling both officers and men to-day, I caused to be read the camp regulations, which I had prepared for the government of the party, and made a short address, in which I informed them that every man would be expected to look to the safety of his comrades; that all alike, whether soldier or civilian, would be expected to stand guard, and in case of difficulties to meet them promptly. I exaggerated the difficulties which lay before us, and represented that the country through which they would pass was intersected by bogs, marshes, and deep morasses; that rivers were to be forded and bridged, mountains and valleys to be crossed; that the first one hundred and eighty miles of the journey was reported to be through a continuous marsh, barely practicable, where every man would have to go through mud and water and apply his shoulders to the wheel; that in ten days we would reach the Indian country, where heavy guard duty would have to be performed to protect property and preserve lives; that still farther on we would probably be compelled to force our way through the country of the Blackfoot Indians, a tribe proverbially treacherous and warlike, that then the snows of the mountains would have to be overcome, and that every man would be expected to follow wherever he might be led; that no one would be sacrificed, nor would any one be subjected to any risk which I would not freely incur; and that whoever was not willing to coöperate with us had better at once retire. After these remarks the camp regulations were read by Mr. Kendall, and my views were cordially approved. I dispatched Lieutenant Grover with a picked party of fifteen men, with instructions to reconnoitre the country north, and in the vicinity of White Bear Lake.

June 13. Continuing the project of sending off the train in detached parties, and thus gradually breaking up the camp, much of the day was spent in preparing a party to be placed in charge of Dr. Suckley. All was effected by four P. M., when his party, consisting of Belland the guide, Menoc the hunter, a cook, Corporal Coster, and two dragoons, with two led horses and two led mules, two men in charge of them, Belland's riding horse, and a Pembina cart in charge of Henry Boulieau, started from camp. He was instructed to follow Lieutenant Grover's trail in easy marches, looking carefully to his animals, and paying particular attention to the collections in natural history.

To-day I issued an order creating assimilated rank in the expedition, by which certain gentlemen of the party were appointed to the grade of lieutenant, and others to the grade of non-commissioned officer, for convenience in detailing guard. By this course the relative position of each man was fixed; and, whether in the main or detached parties, it was known whose duty it was to give orders in case of necessity. Military organization is in some degree indispensable, and the idea of an escort has been entirely abandoned. All are soldiers in the performance of guard duty, and the soldiers accompanying us are on fatigue duty, and not merely to escort us by day and to stand guard at night. Several of the Pembina carts purchased by Dr. Borup arrived in camp to-day. They are made entirely of wood, having no iron at all about them, very roughly constructed, and the wheels usually wrapped with rawhide or buffalo skin in place of an iron tire, to prevent their cutting through the marshy ground so extensive between here and Pembina. They are drawn by horses, oxen, or mules, one person usually driving from two to six carts, and when loaded they will carry from six to eight hundred pounds. They look as if made for only one trip, and the creaking of the wheels on the wooden axle does not give the idea of their standing much service. Their first appearance, to those of the party unaccustomed to the sight, with the oxen harnessed in them, caused much merriment, and as they moved over the prairie, the singular noise produced by their wheels assured us that, with such an accompaniment, no need existed for any musical instrument or players, for these discoursed most sweetly.

"There is no such thing as an escort to this expedition. Each man is escorted by every other man," begins this order. It required each man habitually to go armed; arms to be inspected morning and evening; no march on Sundays, on which days thorough inspection of persons and things to be made, and each man to bathe his whole person; each member of the scientific corps to take care of his own horse, and to take from and place in the wagons his own personal baggage; no firing on the march; personal baggage reduced to twenty-five pounds per man. By the strict enforcement of these stringent but salutary regulations, and the extreme care with which all were required to treat the animals, Governor Stevens conducted the entire expedition without the loss of a man, save one who shot himself by accident, and the animals actually improved on the march.

June 14. Spent the day in making the necessary arrangements to push forward the whole camp, to be organized for the present in detached parties under separate heads, and all under my general direction. Lieutenant Du Barry was placed in general charge of the meteorological observations and of the train, as executive officer. Everything now presents a favorable aspect, and all will be ready to move off to-morrow morning. Procured several more Pembina carts. Engaged to-day Paul Boulieau, a half-breed Chippewa of collegiate education, who has filled a seat in the territorial legislature with credit, and also been long in the service of the fur company. He was placed in charge of the Pembina train, so called, which, consisting at first of five carts, each drawn by an ox, was this day increased by a very superior wagon team, drawn by two yoke of very large and serviceable oxen. It may here be observed that the Pembina train, managed entirely by the voyageurs, invariably moved by itself, crossed all the streams without additional assistance, gave us the least trouble in supervision, and was altogether the most economical and effective transportation we had. A pioneer wagon containing rations for the advance party and the india-rubber boats, loaded lightly in order in case of necessity to be pushed rapidly forward to the advance parties, and a wagon of Indian goods, were with the train. The arrangements thus made left me free to be either with the advance parties or with the train, or to make personal examinations of important features of the country off the lines of the trail.

Again sending on detached parties, under Lieutenant Grover, Dr. Suckley, Lander, and Tinkham, the march was resumed to Pike Lake, a distance of eighty-one miles. The season was unusually backward, the rains frequent and heavy, and great labor was required in crossing the swollen streams, — some by bridging, others by means of the india-rubber floats for ferrying over the goods while the animals swam across. The wagons, bogged in the miry ground, had to be frequently unloaded and loaded again; but many soft and marshy places were made passable by covering the road deep with cut grass, for which purpose the governor, with his usual foresight, had provided scythes. The country, with its beautiful prairies, groves, and lakes, and many streams and bogs to be crossed, and the incidents of the march are graphically described in Governor Stevens's report, with many views taken along the route. The following extracts will show the character of the country and the difficulties overcome: —

June 16. Three miles from Camp Davis we passed through a belt of woods for two miles, where the flies were excessively annoying, persecuting our animals so that it was hard to keep them in the road, as they constantly attempted to rush into the bushes. The country to Cold Spring has a rich alluvial soil, with scattered groves of timber. It is mostly level prairie, occasionally broken by a small stream, and is excellent for agricultural purposes. Passing through Lieutenant Du Barry's camp, I went on to Dr. Suckley's, on the west side of the Sauk. Sauk River at our ford is about one hundred and twenty feet wide, though, owing to the obliquity of the banks and rapidity of current, the ford is near three hundred feet wide and the water five feet deep.

June 17. This morning I started with Dr. Suckley and went on to Lake Henry, nineteen and a half miles. The country was a rolling prairie, interspersed with small sloughs filled by the recent rains; the soil is rich and black, grass good, and occasionally gravelly hillocks. In the crossing of the Sauk by the main train, the india-rubber boats were for the first time used. The larger one is about twelve feet long and four wide, weighing seventy-five pounds, the other about one fifth smaller. A rope was stretched across the stream, and the boats ferried across by means of a ring attached to their bows, and sliding along the rope. They succeeded admirably, and a birch canoe, managed by one of the voyageurs, was also used in crossing. Some of the men were in the water for hours, but worked faithfully and efficiently. Lieutenant Du Barry effected the crossing in one day, and encamped on the west side of the river, six miles from Cold Spring.

June 18. Left camp about seven o'clock, and in about three quarters of a mile crossed a bad place, requiring some grass. The water was two feet deep, and the bottom miry. Our road lay through a beautiful prairie. The shores of Lake

Henry are heavily wooded. In two and a half miles farther we found two very wet places, one hundred yards apart. In two miles farther we came to a long marsh, where the ground was very soft, and where our wagons stalled. Three quarters of a mile beyond we encountered a very deep, muddy slough, to cross which we had recourse to a long rope, and all our force pulled on it. A branch of Crow River is then reached in a mile, or a little more. It is about twelve feet wide and two deep; both sides are overflown marsh, making the place very difficult to cross. To avoid breaking bulk, we again used the long rope, and attaching three pairs of mules to it, all our men pulling on it at the same time, we got the wagon through. We arrived about noon at Crow Wing River, nine miles from camp. It was four or five feet deep and twenty feet wide, and at this time overflowing its usual banks. Broke bulk here, the men packing our stuff across. Passing Crow River, we find a continuous grove of oak-trees on our left, and in five miles a series of small lakes on our right, not wooded but abounding in game. Arrived at camp on Lightning Lake about half past eight P. M. Distance traveled, eighteen miles and three quarters. The frequent sloughs and bad crossings in our march to-day added much to the labors of the men and animals. After the hard day's march we enjoyed our supper of game, cooked in hunter's style on sticks before the fire, although it was midnight before we could have it ready.

June 19, Sunday. Lightning Lake is a very beautiful sheet of water, so called from the fact that during Captain Pope's expedition, while encamped here, one of those storms so fearfully violent in this country occurred, during which one of his party was instantly killed by a stroke of lightning. Its northern shore is thickly studded with timber, and the southern side, upon which we are encamped, affords an ample supply for all camping purposes. Pickerel, pike, and bass fill the lake, numbers of which our parties caught; and ducks, geese, swans, plover, and prairie chicken abound in the vicinity. The day of rest was enjoyed by the whole party; some fishing, washing and mending their clothes, others trying various modes of cooking the game and fish which abounded. Evans succeeded admirably in roasting a fish in the ashes, first rolling it up in brown paper dampened, which, when removed, brought off the scales with it, leaving the meat clean and well done. Early after dinner Mr. Osgood arrived, informing me that Lieutenant Du Barry, misconstruing my instructions, had declined to allow him to bring forward the two wagons which I had ordered for the use of the advanced parties.

June 20. Started at 3.30 A. M. to go back to the main train, which I met five miles west of Lake Henry. Taking charge of the train myself, I directed Boutineau to explore in advance for the most practicable route. The bad crossing referred to in the narrative of the 18th was, by great exertion and the united force of the whole party, effected without accident, and the whole train reached Lightning Lake by 4.30 P. M.

Lieutenant Du Barry appears to have felt affronted at the action of the governor in taking the personal charge of the train, and indeed the latter was apt to be pretty severe and decided if anything went wrong. It will be observed how summarily he weeded out and sent back inefficient men: —

June 21. In compliance with his own request, I relieved Lieutenant Du Barry from duty with the expedition, and ordered him to report in person to the Adjutant-General in Washington. He was desired to call upon the Secretary of War and acquaint him with the whole history of the expedition up to this point; and, to enable him to reach the settlements with some degree of comfort and expedition, I dispatched Mr. Kendall and two of the voyageurs to accompany him as far as Long Prairie on his return, whence there would be no difficulty in his procuring transportation to Sauk Rapids.

Captain Remenyi and his assistant, Mr. Jekelfaluzy, were discharged to-day, as they did not perform their duties to my satisfaction.

All these matters detained us until 4.30 P. M., when I pushed forward with Dr. Suckley's and the scientific parties. The clouds were gathering and indicated a severe gust. We reached a beautiful lake about three miles distant, called by us Lake Stanley, in honor of the artist of the expedition, and had just time to get into camp to save ourselves from a very severe storm, which continued with great violence till near seven P. M.

June 22. My party, leaving Dr. Suckley, got off about six A. M. We arrived at White Bear Lake, about nine and a half miles from the morning's camp, at 10.15 A. M. Leaving Lightning Lake the country seems to change its character, and is no longer a flat, undiversified surface, with occasionally a gentle undulation scarcely attracting attention. It has gradually changed to a heavy, rolling prairie, which, before approaching White Bear Lake, becomes broken up into hills, valleys, and basins varying from thirty to fifty feet in depth. Boulders and stones, from the size of pebbles to paving-stones, are very numerous. Our route to-day appears to be gradually ascending at a probable rate of eight or ten feet per mile. White Bear Lake is a beautiful sheet of water, bordered with timber, about fourteen miles long and two wide, with high, swelling banks, running back a mile or so, and rising to the height of about one hundred and fifty feet. As the animals looked so fresh, and the day was cool and good for traveling, we halted only for a rest. About five miles from the lake we came to a stream, apparently running into it. Other bad places occurred; soft bogs, marshes, and brooks impeded our progress so much that we did not get into camp until three P. M., making nine and one third miles from our halting-place, and eighteen and three fourths for our day's march. Our camp was on a very rapid stream, with steep, high banks. We called it Lambert River, in honor of our topographer, who received a sad overturn as he crossed it with Lieutenant Grover's command.

The main train in charge of Mr. Osgood moved from camp on Lightning Lake at seven o'clock, after settling a difficulty of a very serious aspect growing out of a strike of all the teamsters, in consequence of a discharge by him of six of their number, according to my directions, because their services were not required. They threatened to shoot the first driver who moved out of camp. Mr. Osgood declared that he would drive out each wagon himself. Finally, after some discussion, the discharged men moved off cheerfully, and the main train pushed forward to White Bear Lake.

June 23. Our first labor this morning was to cross the stream at a point half a mile from our camp, from which we moved about six. This crossing delayed our little party some two hours. Grass had to be cut and placed on both sides of the stream. The banks were steep and soft, and it required the presence of a man or two at each wheel to keep the wagons in motion and prevent their being stuck in the mire. The country to-day appears admirably adapted to grazing purposes, and the bottoms, of frequent occurrence, are of a very rich character. Marshes and little streams, bordered by soft places, occur frequently. In one of these places, fully one hundred feet in length, one of our wagons got mired, making it necessary to remove part of its load to get it through.

About ten A. M. I left the train in charge of Mr. G. W. Stevens, and, pushing on, reached Lieutenant Grover's camp about twelve. The train arrived at half past one, crossed a marsh and a small stream, and encamped opposite the camps of Messrs. Grover, Lander, and Tinkham. Lieutenant Grover's camp is beautifully situated on the shores of Pike Lake. The main train and Dr. Suckley's party arrived about half past eight, and the whole expedition was again brought together. This I consider the real starting-point of the expedition, and named our camp here Camp Marcy, in honor of the Secretary of State. We remained here a day in order to give the animals a chance to rest. They appear to be in very good condition, and the grazing is fine. Received of the various scientific chiefs reports of their labors to this point.

CHAPTER XVII

PIKE LAKE TO FORT UNION

From Pike Lake the expedition pursued a general course westerly by ten degrees northerly in order to clear the great northeastern bend of the Missouri, and reached Fort Union in thirty-eight days, traversing a distance of five hundred and fifty miles. A compass and odometer line was run with the main party. Pursuing his system of exploring a wide scope of country by means of detached parties, Governor Stevens dispatched Lieutenant Grover with a picked party to survey a separate route south of that of the main body as far as Fort Union, and kept Lander, Tinkham, Dr. Suckley, Lambert, Doty, and Adams, with small parties of the voyageurs, examining the country within forty miles of the route by frequent side trips. The main train crossed the Red River near the town of Breckenridge, the James River some distance north of Jamestown, and skirted the Mouse River near Minot, on the Great Northern Railroad, from which point to Fort Union, and for hundreds of miles beyond, that railroad follows Governor Stevens's route. It is characteristic of the governor that in sending officers on the detached trips he always furnished them the best men and animals of the party, frequently allowing them to select them themselves. On July 12 he overstrained himself in his exertions to prevent a herd of buffalo from stampeding the train, and the old rupture, which had given him so much trouble in Mexico, broke out afresh, and obliged him to ride in an ambulance for many hundreds of miles. But his spirit and energy were nowise quelled by this grievous physical disability. The graphic descriptions of the country, the incidents of the march, the encounter with countless herds of buffalo, and the meetings with the Red River hunters and Assiniboine Indians are given in the final report with a fullness of detail which cannot be attempted here, but the following extracts will give a fair idea of this stage of the exploration: —

June 24. I directed Lieutenant Grover to select a party of twenty picked men, twenty-six mules, three horses, and twenty-five days' provisions, including an ox, with which to go forward on the Dead Colt Hillock line. In thus giving to Lieutenant Grover his own selection of animals and men, my purpose was to make him in the highest degree effective in the means at his disposal, and to demonstrate by the success of his undertaking the entire feasibility of operating in detached parties. Messrs. Lander and Tinkham moved forward this afternoon to Chippewa River.

On counting rations, it was found that for the main party there was a supply for twenty days, while it might take forty-five to reach Fort Union. But with the eight oxen in the carts, and the known abundance of game, I feared no scarcity. The men showed some anxiety, and talked of a strike, but, seeing the confidence of the officers, abandoned any open demonstration. I had ordered a reducing of rations whenever the quantity of game would justify it, and henceforward I gave the most particular attention to it, so that, although we did not reach the Yellowstone for thirty-eight days, there was at no time a scarcity of provisions.

June 25. To-day the expedition may be considered fairly under way. Lieutenant Grover started at 7.30 A. M. The main party, under my own direction, moved forward at about the same time. In ten miles reached the Chippewa River. The india-rubber boats did good service, carrying over each time more than half a wagon-load. The whole train was all well encamped two miles further on at a fine lake by sunset.

June 26. The main party moved to-day to the camp of Mr.

Tinkham of last night, and the whole command was over the river and in camp by six o'clock. As we were now approaching the Indian country, I systematized all the arrangements of camp and guards, and the details of duty on the march. The dragoons were distributed as follows: two for the pack-train; two with a led horse each for reconnoitring duty; two to strike and pitch tents; two to catch fish; two with the howitzer; Sergeant Lindner and seven men with the main column. The sergeant was, moreover, charged with the duty of laying out the encampment under my direction. For the care of the camp, an officer of the guard, who also served as officer of the day, two non-commissioned officers, and six privates were detailed.

Cook-fires to be made at two A. M.; the cooks and teamsters called at three, and the animals to be put in good grass; reveille to be sounded at four, and all the officers to be called by name; the whole camp to breakfast about four, and the teamsters immediately to commence harnessing up; tents struck by half past four, and camp in motion by five; the sentinels instructed to fire upon any prowling Indians.

June 27. Camp roused at four A. M. While at breakfast, Lieutenant Moffett gave me notice that we had but four minutes left to eat in, and, as we failed to get through, he had the tents struck over our heads. The train moved at five o'clock. About eight miles from camp passed Elbow Lake, fourteen miles reached Rabbit River, followed the stream to where it empties into Bell's Lake, and, going along the beach through water eight inches deep with a pebbly bottom, we found a good crossing, though a ridge has to be ascended before getting upon the plain where our camp is placed. The grass is most excellent, and the animals, accustomed to each other, are visibly improving.

Tuesday, June 28. At half past ten A. M. the advance had crossed Rabbit River, fifteen miles from camp, and halted until the arrival of the main train. Leaving the train to rest, the advance started at two. In three miles met Mr. Lander, whose camp was with Mr. Tinkham's, and went into camp at five on the Bois de Sioux, and were joined by the whole party at nine o'clock, after a march of twenty-seven miles over a country that had been invariably reported the very worst of the whole route.

Our animals, though somewhat tired, immediately went to feeding. There were some soft places between the Rabbit River and the Bois de Sioux, in which the animals were mired and wagons stalled; but we were agreeably disappointed in having comparatively a very comfortable day's journey.

Numerous large catfish were caught this afternoon, some weighing from twelve to twenty pounds. At half past eleven P. M. we sat down to a supper of ducks, catfish, and coffee, and all the men were in fine spirits. The Bois de Sioux had been a great point to reach, — the end of bad roads and the commencement of the buffalo country. Here we may take a general review of the country since leaving St. Paul.

Between Camp Pierce and Sauk Rapids, seventy-nine miles, the road passes through beautiful prairies and oak openings, with occasional meadows, wet at this early season, and, at some distance to the right, groves of tamarack, varying the landscape with their light and feathery foliage.

From the crossing at Sauk Rapids to Lightning Lake most of the country is rolling prairie, with the wooded banks of Sauk River on the south, and numerous small ponds and lakes with trees on their banks, abundant and excellent pasture, and swarms of water-fowl, supplying plenty of fresh provisions.

A similar delightful country continues to the Bois de Sioux River, with some decrease in the amount of timber, until the banks of that river are reached.

After leaving Lightning Lake the country seems to change its character; no longer a flat, undiversified surface, or with gentle undulations scarcely attracting notice, it has gradually changed to a heavy, rolling prairie, and at White Bear Lake becomes broken up into hills, valleys, and basins. Boulders and smaller stones are numerous.

This whole dividing ridge, then, separating the waters of the Mississippi from those of the Red River, which flow into Hudson Bay, is not the lofty range of mountains which might be supposed to separate the sources of two such great bodies of water flowing in opposite directions and to outlets so widely distant, but is a gently undulating and exceedingly rich prairie country, abundantly wooded and watered, having a width of one hundred miles, and an elevation not exceeding six hundred feet above the river and about sixteen hundred above the sea. There is a very slight rise in the general level in going westward, the Bois de Sioux being at the crossing only thirty-one feet higher than the Mississippi at Sauk Rapids. Undulating and level prairies, skirted by woods of various growth, and clothed everywhere with rich verdure; numerous and rapid streams, with innumerable small but limpid lakes, frequented by multitudes of wild fowl, most conspicuous among which appears the stately swan, — these, in ever-recurring succession, make up the panorama of this extensive district, which may be said to be everywhere fertile, beautiful, and inviting.

The most remarkable features of this region are the intervals of level prairie, especially that near the bend of the branches of Red River, where the horizon is as unbroken as that of a calm sea. Nor are other points of resemblance wanting: the long grass, which in such places is unusually rank, bending gracefully to the passing breeze as it sweeps along the plain, gives the idea of waves (as indeed they are); and the solitary horseman on the horizon is so indistinctly seen as to complete the picture by the suggestion of a sail, raising the first feelings of novelty to a character of wonder and delight. The flowing outlines of the rolling prairies are broken only by the small lakes and patches of timber, which relieve them of monotony and enhance their beauty; and though marshes and sloughs occur, they are too small and infrequent to affect the generally attractive character of the country. The elevation of the rolling prairie is generally so uniform that even the summits between streams flowing in opposite directions exhibit no peculiar features to distinguish them from the ordinary valley slopes.

Wednesday, June 29. The advance parties crossed the river before seven o'clock, but the train was not started till eleven, so as to give the animals rest. The ford, very good for a small train, became very muddy towards the last, and though we unloaded all the wagons and carried the loads over in boats, the wagons and animals were badly stalled at the edges and on the soft and steep banks of the river. The country from the Bois de Sioux to the Wild Rice River is a broad, level prairie, covered with luxuriant grass eighteen inches high; the distance eleven miles, with occasional sloughs. The heat to-day was excessive, and the mosquitoes very annoying to men and animals. At four o'clock, profiting by our experience in crossing the Bois de Sioux, I sent Mr. Lander with a select force of axemen to cut timber to bridge the Wild Rice. The train came up slowly, the last wagons not reaching camp till midnight.

Thursday, June 30. Part of the men were employed in carefully currying and washing the animals, and in catching fish; the remainder were detailed to build the bridge, which was completed by one P. M. It was made of heavy logs, filled in with cut willow-brush and mown grass. Moved at two o'clock; in three miles came to a small creek, which was quite marshy, and caused delay to cross. Moving a mile and a half farther we again struck the same stream, and encamped at half past four P. M. During our march we encountered a very severe storm, accompanied with thunder and lightning. Boutineau brought in an elk, which furnished about two pounds of excellent fresh meat to each man, and was much enjoyed. Kendall and the two Boulieaus overtook us to-day, bringing supplies and five Indian ponies.

July 1. I determined to push forward with the engineer party to the Sheyenne, and, if I found it necessary, have it bridged. Smooth prairie extended all the way, road good, and the distance twenty-six and a half miles. A very severe thunderstorm occurred this morning, lasting an hour, and wetting us thoroughly. At eleven A. M. we met the train of the Red River traders, and visited their camp, six miles distant. We were very hospitably received, purchased some pemmican, common moccasins, and articles of dress worked with porcupine quills. Bought also some carts and oxen, being very deficient in transportation.

The main train only proceeded thirteen miles, and I returned to them about three P. M., accompanied by Kittson, Father Delacour, Roulet, and Cavilaer. Kittson and Roulet were members of the territorial legislature from Pembina; Cavilaer, the collector of customs; and Delacour is a very clever, shrewd priest. They are on their annual trip to St. Paul with robes, skins, pemmican, and dried meat of the buffalo, collected by trading with the half-breeds of the Red River settlements. We found that they had bridged the Sheyenne, saving us considerable trouble and delay. Their company proved very agreeable, and we were glad that a heavy thunderstorm coming on obliged them to be our guests for the night.

July 2. Struck camp at seven o'clock and parted with our new friends, sending back with them Strobel and two teamsters, who proved inefficient. The whole train crossed the Sheyenne bridge safely by noon, and camped on the other side. We had apprehended that possibly the heavy rain of last night would swell the river and carry away the bridge, but hurrying up the wagons, we made the crossing just before the water had risen sufficiently to flow over the bridge. I called this camp McClelland, intending to halt here over Sunday and make up dispatches for Washington. I sent Lander and Tinkham to reconnoitre both up and down the river.

July 3, Sunday. Lander came back from his reconnoissance, having been as far south as Dead Colt Hillock. He met with a singular adventure, which afforded us a great deal of amusement. Riding along with his four voyageurs, whom he used to call his "men of iron," at some distance ahead they saw a skunk moving leisurely through the grass, with tail erect and defying their approach. Lander leveled his glass at it, and, satisfying himself that it was an Indian watching their movements and trying to hide himself, gave the order for his gallant band to "charge." They did charge, and at the same time firing their revolvers, the poor skunk fell, riddled with balls and weltering in his blood; when coming up, they discovered the extent of their bold exploit. Joking in camp is one of the pastimes to relieve the annoyances of the march, and every little thing is seized upon to feed the disposition.

Fourth of July. The train started at six A. M. I remained behind to get off a mail. Started about ten and followed the Red River trail some twelve miles, when we left it altogether. Crossed Maple River, and camped on its banks. About dusk we raised the American flag, made of red and white shirts, contributed by the party and sewed together by Boulieau. As it went up, the assembled command gave it three hearty cheers, and then indulged in some refreshments in honor of the day, ending the evening with songs and story-telling.

July 5. Traveled twenty miles over a high, firm, and almost level prairie, camping on a small branch of Maple River without any wood near it. The pack-train requiring more attention and care of the animals than has been given by the man in charge, who does not take sufficient pains with the disabled animals, I to-day directed Mr. Kendall to oversee them and have them properly attended to.

July 6. Went twenty miles farther, making a noon halt of two hours, when Mr. Tinkham returned from a long and rapid reconnoissance ahead. Prairie more rolling, but road good. A high butte to the left of our course enabled me to get a fine view of the surrounding country. Two Indians were seen by Boutineau, who was out after buffalo, which he did not find; but abundance of ducks continue to supply the camp with fresh meat.

July 7. About 8.30 we struck the Sheyenne six miles from camp, and rested an hour. Keeping the Sheyenne on our left, we moved forward ten miles and camped about a mile and a half from the river on the banks of a fine lake. To-day Le Frambois and Menoc killed an old buffalo bull, and also brought in some dozen geese. Several of the messes supplied themselves with frogs, which have been most abundant on our march for the past two days. The whole command took supper off of buffalo, and the meat, though old and tough, tasted very good, and saved us an ox which had been destined for the slaughter. Several antelopes and wolves were seen to-day.

July 8. Started this morning at 6.30, and arrived at the crossing of the Sheyenne River after a march of fifteen miles. Buttes in considerable number are seen ahead, among which the Horse Butte and the Butte Micheau are plainly visible. Mr. Tinkham, Paul, and Henry were out again to-day, making a reconnoissance on the Sheyenne. We went into camp about one o'clock on the east and south side of the Sheyenne, and a party was at once detailed to cut wood and prepare charcoal. The magnetic tent was put up, and the astronomical and meteorological parties went immediately to work. I called our camp Camp Guthrie, in honor of the Secretary of the Treasury, and determined to remain here all day to-morrow.

Boutineau and Henry Boulieau went out this afternoon, and returned with the choice pieces of a fine, fat, young buffalo bull, and we made a delightful meal, around the fire, of the ribs, marrow-bones, etc., cooked hunter's fashion. Towards evening, on the coteau on the other side of the river, a herd of some twenty elks made their appearance. Numerous wolves were also seen, which, during the night, kept up a constant howling. We planted flags on high hills in the vicinity as signals to Lander, who may follow the Sheyenne River to find our crossing-place.

July 9. An accurate return was made of the provisions on hand, so as to regulate its weekly distribution. Our flour is fast diminishing, and the issue was reduced to half a pound per day to each man. This state of affairs caused considerable grumbling in camp. We are fast approaching the buffalo country, and then shall be expected to do with much less. About 2.30 P. M. the main train under Mr. Osgood crossed the river, and moved forward to a good camping-place. The astronomical, magnetic, and meteorological parties, with the detail of three men attending to the coal-pit, and Mr. Evans and myself, remained at Camp Guthrie, intending to join them before they moved in the morning.

July 10. After partaking of a cup of coffee at three o'clock, our little train, consisting of an ambulance and spring wagon with a cart loaded with charcoal, had crossed the Sheyenne by sunrise. About seven o'clock we reached the main train, encamped some seven miles off. The train was preparing to move, and soon after we came up it started; at eight o'clock we followed and passed them. About five miles from camp we ascended to the top of a high hill, and for a great distance ahead every square mile seemed to have a herd of buffalo on it. Their number was variously estimated by the members of the party, some as high as half a million. I do not think it is any exaggeration to set it down at 200,000. I had heard of the myriads of these animals inhabiting these plains, but I could not realize the truth of these accounts till to-day, when they surpassed anything I could have imagined from the accounts which I had received.

The timber bordering on Lake Jessie was distinctly visible ahead, and between us and it were countless herds of buffalo, through which we were compelled to pass. The train moved on till eleven o'clock, when we all halted, drew up in line, and picketed the loose animals. Six of the hunters, Boutineau, Menoc, Le Frambois, the two Boulieaus, and Rummell, were mounted upon the best horses in the command, some of which were specially reserved, and rode off in fine style, keeping together till ready to dash in among the herd. The immense sea of flesh remained quiet until their approach, and then, separating, they rode in among them, selected the fat cows, and, riding around until the proper time to do execution, the quick succession of shots announced the fact that our supplies of meat were fast being added to. In less than an hour a wagon was called into requisition to collect the choice pieces of nine buffalo cows. While we were resting, several small bands came within firing distance of our train. One or two dragoons on foot gave one a chase, but the buffalo, of course, distanced them. The most amusing scene was the dog Zack, of the dragoon detachment, dashing into a whole herd, and following them a considerable distance. Paul Boulieau and Rummell were both thrown by their horses stumbling in one of the numerous holes with which the prairie abounds. They were considerably, though not seriously, hurt.

We arrived at Lake Jessie at three P. M., the bluff shore on which we encamped being sixty-four feet above the level of the lake. The water of Lake Jessie is considerably saline in its character; but about three quarters of a mile from camp, an excellent spring of good, fresh water was found by Henry Boulieau and myself while out on a reconnoitring trip.

Between one and two o'clock at night a herd of buffalo approached our camp, and it required all the exertions of the guard, assisted by many of the men, to prevent an entire stampede of all our animals. As it was, some got loose, though none were lost. The buffalo were followed a considerable distance, and some ten or a dozen shots were fired before the animals without were entirely driven off.

July 11. Having proceeded about four miles, a small band of buffalo started off ahead of us. Le Frambois's horse and four loose mules near the head of the column started in pursuit, the horse taking the lead. Boutineau, Le Frambois, Menoc, Guy, Lindner, and Paul Boulineau, all well mounted, gave chase in hopes of recovering them. By this time they had mixed up in the herd, and, though they were followed some twelve or fifteen miles, all efforts to secure them were unavailing. About a mile farther we encountered a very severe slough, the approach to which was marked by a very great curiosity in the form of a buffalo trail; at least 100,000 must have crossed here by the footprints and marks visible, and I determined on crossing the slough at the same point which the instinct of these animals had selected.

July 12. In company with Tinkham and some of the guides, I started from camp this morning at five o'clock, designing to be in advance of the train some miles, to reconnoitre and pick out a good road, our route lying over high hills.

At about eight o'clock I sent off Mr. Tinkham, accompanied by the two Boulieaus, well mounted, with instructions to go southward, determining the position of the headwaters of Bald Hillock Creek, and thus connecting his work with Mr. Lander's reconnoissance; thence westward in a line nearly parallel with our route of to-day, making a reconnoissance of the tributaries of the Jacques River (James), leaving it to his discretion whether to join our camp to-night or the next day. By this we would secure the reconnoissance of a belt of country forty miles wide, lying between the Sheyenne and Jacques (James) rivers.

About eleven miles from camp we crossed a deep slough. About a mile farther on we crossed a fine little stream which I took to be Beaver Lodge Creek. Shortly afterwards Boutineau killed a fine buffalo cow, not twenty feet from the compass line. The dispatch and dexterity with which these men cut up buffalo is truly astonishing. Before the cart came up, the animal was entirely butchered, and had only to be thrown into the cart. We moved forward to-day some sixteen miles, and camped on the side of a small lake. We had scarcely got into camp before we were visited by a very severe storm, accompanied by thunder and lightning. Our fires were put out by the rain, and during a temporary cessation were built up again; but it soon came on with increased violence, and our fires were again washed out. About six o'clock two of Mr. Lander's party who left us on the 4th arrived in camp, announcing that Mr. Lander and the rest of his men were only some three or four miles behind, with considerable difficulty bringing in the horses, which were giving out.[1] I dispatched two men with led horses to meet them, and about sundown they came up. We found great difficulty in keeping up our fires so as to get our supper cooked. The rain fell in torrents, our supply of wood was limited, and the buffalo chips were so wet as to be entirely useless.

Towards the close of the day's march I became disabled from my exertions in endeavoring to keep off a herd of buffalo from the train, causing an old wound to break out, which compelled me to ride many hundred miles in the ambulance.

July 13. A very heavy fog this morning delayed our getting off as early as expected, and the hope of Tinkham and his small party joining us made me less hurried about starting. Sixteen miles from camp we struck James River, and crossed over a good ford, from which point I sent Mr. Lander down the river to examine it. Noticing that the river ran very nearly in the course of our compass, we followed it, and again crossing it some five miles above, we encamped. I had a large amount of rushes collected, with a view of building as large a camp-fire as practicable, in order to give notice to Tinkham of our position, he not having returned.

July 14. The missing party not having arrived, three rounds of the howitzer were fired at sunrise, and we started later than usual. It was evident that the whole camp was in a great state of anxiety for the safety of our comrades. Many believed that they had fallen in with Indians, and were deprived of their horses and their lives. Taking everything into consideration, I deemed it best to leave a party at this point so equipped as to combine great energy and force with promptness of movement, so as to be able to overtake the main train without difficulty. Accordingly Mr. Lander was left in charge of the engineer wagon and the wagon belonging to the mountain howitzer, which was made light enough to be moved with ease forty miles in a single day. The howitzer was also left with him for the purpose of making signals. Mr. Doty, with three voyageurs and three men to manage the howitzer, together with the teamsters of the ammunition wagon, remained with Mr. Lander, having abundance of arms, provisions, animals, etc., to supply any emergency. This party was instructed to keep up fires, to fire three rounds with the howitzer at noon and at sunset should the party not arrive, and to communicate with us if any casualty occurred.

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[1] Lander, it seems, was an inveterate horse-killer, and almost always returned from his trips with his animal badly used up. Buffalo chips are the dried dung frequently used on the plains as a substitute for fuel where there is no wood.

A party of four brave and thorough woodsmen, whose knowledge of the prairie life was derived from experience in many expeditions, and who well understood the Indian character, were sent out on the route traveled yesterday, and were directed, after traveling some eight or ten miles, to leave the road, and, going in different directions, to plant signals and scour the country. I felt certain that Mr. Tinkham would be found by these men, if found at all.

The remainder of the train left about seven o'clock, pursuing the same course as yesterday. The first ten miles was over a level plateau. We encamped about 4.30 o'clock at the bank of a fine lake, having made to-day a distance of little over twenty miles. The mosquitoes were exceedingly annoying, flying against the sides of the tents with a noise like the pattering of rain, while the inside was perfectly black with them. Their constant humming drove the men out into the open air, and rendered it almost impossible to sleep.

July 15. At daybreak Broadwell went back to Lander's camp, and I dispatched Osgood and Kendall to a high hill to reconnoitre and look for a new camp. The guides and hunters were also sent on to the Sheyenne to ascertain the distance, and if not too far we would go to it. Being very unwell, I laid by all the morning, and the delay of the train was employed in shoeing the animals, equalizing loads, and arranging them in such a manner as to give about nine hundred pounds to each wagon, and so distributed in bulk that a portion of each wagon could be appropriated to the conveyance of wood and the meat killed each day.

The men are much interested in the labors of Dr. Suckley, the naturalist. It is amusing to see each one making his contribution of snakes, reptiles, birds, bugs, etc.

Near noon Osgood and his party returned, having been to the

Sheyenne, where they found no wood, poor grass, and swarms of mosquitoes. Soon after the guides returned, announcing that they had seen a party of Sioux of a thousand lodges, not more than nine miles in advance of us. Boutineau's manner was full of fear, and his public announcement spread alarm through the whole camp. I at once gave orders to make ready, with the intention of visiting their camp; and, calling Boutineau to my tent, asked him whether they were not the Red River hunting party. He assured me indignantly that "he knew half-breeds from Indians, and that they were certainly Sioux."

I suggested that they might be friendly Sioux, who, being engaged in the hunt and hearing of our approach, were coming forward to meet us, to receive the usual presents and gratify their curiosity. He still insisted that they were hostile Sioux, and saw in their presence the explanation of the cause of the absence of the missing party. We were, in his opinion, to be surrounded and cut off.

After dinner, as the alarm was spreading throughout the command, the arms were inspected and ammunition distributed, and orders given to have the train in readiness to move at once. I sent Boutineau, Le Frambois, and Menoc to the top of a high ridge as a lookout, while a flag was prepared to be sent forward if necessary. Word soon came that the country was alive with Indians, who were fast surrounding us; and I sent scouts to hills on the right and left, having the lake to protect our rear. Mounting my horse, I rode to the hill in front, and saw two horsemen rapidly approaching. Our flag-bearers rode forward to meet them, and soon discovered that they were two of the Red River hunters, and that their camp was three miles beyond the Sheyenne. Having discerned our party, they came to invite us to visit them, and expressed their kindly feelings for us. The train, which before this was in motion, arranged in a double line, with the pack and loose animals between, proceeded two miles, where there was better water, and encamped.

The agreeable disappointment established a fine feeling throughout camp; and, half an hour after, Boulieau and Lindner arrived in camp with news of Tinkham's safety, which was received with three cheers. The men to-day showed a good spirit, and although there was naturally some anxiety, they obeyed every order with alacrity. Thus ended the apprehensions of the command concerning Indians.

RED RIVER HUNTERS.

July 16. Awaited the coming up of the back parties, and during the morning Tinkham arrived and was received with nine cheers, being followed soon after by the rest of the rear guard. About two P. M. the whole Red River train came in sight, and as they approached, fired a succession of volleys of firearms as a salute, which we returned with three rounds from the howitzer. The train consisted of 824 carts, about 1200 animals, and 1300 persons, men, women, and children, the whole presenting a very fine appearance.

They encamped near by, and the close yard which they formed presented quite a contrast to the open camp adopted by us. They made a circular or square yard of the carts, placed side by side, with the hubs adjoining, presenting a barrier impassable either to man or beast. The tents or lodges were arranged within at a distance of about twenty feet from the carts, and were of a conical shape, built of poles covered with skins, with an opening at the top for the passage of smoke and for ventilation. They were one hundred and four in number, being occupied generally by two families, averaging about ten persons to the lodge. Skins were spread over the tops of the carts, and underneath many of the train found comfortable lodging-places. The animals were allowed to run loose during the day to feed, but were driven into the corral at dark. Thirty-six of the men were posted as sentinels, remaining on guard all night. We had but twelve guards, three reliefs, not more than four men being on guard at one time.

As our camps were only about two hundred yards apart, there was much visiting between them. I was struck with the good conduct and hospitable kindness of these people. A small band of prairie Chippewa Indians, who accompanied this party, visited our camp during the evening, and entertained us with one of their national dances.

I was much pleased with Governor Wilkie, who is the head of the expedition. He is a man about sixty years of age, of fine appearance and pleasant manners. This party are residents of Pembina and its vicinity. When at home they are engaged in agriculture, raising wheat, corn, potatoes, and barley. The land yields about twenty-five bushels of wheat to the acre, their farms averaging about fifteen acres each. They are industrious and frugal in their habits, and are mostly of the Romish persuasion, leading a virtuous and pious life. They are generally accompanied by their priests, and attend strictly to their devotions, having exercises every Sabbath, on which day they neither march nor hunt.

Their municipal government is of a parochial character, being divided into five parishes, each one presided over by an officer called the captain of the parish. On departing for the hunt, they select a man from the whole number, who is styled governor of the hunt, who takes charge of the party, regulates its movements, acts as referee in all cases where any differences arise between the members in regard to game or other matters, and takes command in case of difficulty with the Indians.

In the early part of the year, till the middle of June, these people work at agriculture, when they set out on their first hunt, leaving some thirty at the settlements in charge of their farms, houses, stock, etc. They start out to the southward in search after buffalo, taking with them their families, carts, and animals. These carts, when loaded, contain about eight hundred pounds, and are used in common. There were three hundred and thirty-six men in the present train, of whom three hundred were hunters. Each hunt, of which there are two every year, continues about two months, the first starting in June, the second about the middle of October. Their carts were already half full, and they expected to return to their homes in the latter part of August. On their first trip the buffalo are hunted for the purpose of procuring pemmican, dried meat, tongues, etc.; the skins, being useless for robes, are dressed for lodge-skins, moccasins, etc. In October the meat is still better and fatter, and they procure a like quantity of dried meat, reserving sufficient for a year's provisions, which is about one half of the whole amount procured; they dispose of the rest at the trading-posts of the Hudson Bay Company. The meat which they carry home finds its way, through the

Red River traders of the Fur Company, to Fort Snelling, where it is exchanged for goods, sugar, coffee, etc., at the rate of fifteen cents a pound.

The trade of this country is all in dry-goods, sugar, tea, ammunition, etc. Notes are also issued by the Hudson Bay Company, which are currency among them. Several of these, of the denomination of five shillings, payable at York Factory and bearing the signature of Sir George Simpson, were offered in change to various members of the expedition on purchasing articles. The skins collected in the summer hunt are usually retained by the hunters for their own use, while the robes collected in the fall hunt are a staple of trade with the Fur Company, and also with the Hudson Bay Company, which latter company do a large business in this portion of the country, supplying the settlers with most of their clothes, groceries, etc.

The Red River settlements are made up of a population of half-breeds, traders of the Hudson Bay and Fur Companies, discharged employees of these companies, and Indians, representatives of every nation of Europe, — Scotch, Irish, English, Canadians, — and speaking a jargon made up of these dialects, intermingled with Chippewa and Sioux, patois French being the prevailing tongue. These settlements, started some twenty-five years since, now number, in the vicinity of Pembina Mountain, some four thousand people. The men are generally much finer looking than the women. On the latter depend all the drudgery of camp duties, pitching the tents, attending to animals, cooking, etc. The men dress usually in woolens of various colors. The coat generally worn, called the Hudson Bay coat, has a capote attached to it. The belts are finely knit, of differently colored wool or worsted yarn, and are worn after the manner of sashes. Their powder-horn and shot-bag, attached to bands finely embroidered with beads or worked with porcupine quills, are worn across each shoulder, making an X before and behind. Many also have a tobacco-pouch strung to their sashes, in which is tobacco mixed with kinnickinnick (dried bark of the osier willow scraped fine), a fire-steel, punk, and several flints. Add to these paraphernalia a gun, and a good idea will be formed of the costume of the Red River hunter. The women are industrious, dress in gaudy calicoes, are fond of beads and finery, and are remarkably apt at making bead-work, moccasins, and sewing.

We purchased from the train a supply of pemmican, dried meat, sugar, and other things, some of the men buying moccasins, whips, and other necessaries.

I engaged the services of Alexis Le Bombard, who was in company with this encampment, as guide to the Yellowstone. He came from the Yellowstone this season, and the impression gathered from my interview with him, as well as the representations of others, satisfied me that he will be extremely valuable as a guide.

July 18. Started a few minutes before seven, still following the trail of the Red River train. About eight o'clock we crossed a branch of the Sheyenne, flowing through a deep valley with an extended plateau, bounded on both sides by the high coteau. This stream appears to take its rise in a number of small lakes, and the branch crossed this morning is slightly brackish. Many of the lakes are very salt. These appear to have no outlet, and their saline qualities are accounted for by the fact that they are never washed out, and consequently retain the salt deposits and incrustations. We often notice in this region lakes lying very close to each other, in some cases not more than twenty yards apart; one will be so saline as to be offensive, while the water of the other will be excellent to the taste. We passed to-day a narrow lake, some three miles in length, somewhat resembling a canal. It lay at the foot of a high hill, called the Butte de Morale. Here occurred an engagement between some half-breeds and Sioux, in which one of the former, by the name of Morale, was killed; hence its name. The altitude of this butte, as determined by barometric measurement, is 281.8 feet above the level of the Sheyenne River.

Our way was strewn with the carcasses of many buffaloes killed by the Red River hunting party. At times the air was very much tainted. One of our men reported having ridden through a section of land, a quarter of a mile square, on which were strewn the remains of some three hundred buffaloes. In killing these animals, only the choice bits and hides are taken, and the remainder is left as a prey to wolves, or to rot on the ground.

We had wood to-day, for the first time since leaving Lake Jessie, our fuel in the mean time consisting of greasewood and buffalo chips. The sight of a camp-fire of wood is quite a treat to us. Our camp is beautifully located on a range of hills, nearly surrounded with salt lakes, called the White Wood Lakes. An excellent spring near by furnishes us an abundant supply of cold, fresh water. The odometer line measured to-day was twenty and a half miles. That pursued by the train was probably two miles longer.

July 19. Our course lay over a level country. After proceeding ten miles we crossed a branch of the Sheyenne River, at this time very shallow, but the high banks on each side, together with the grass and deposits, gave evidence of its size during the freshets in the spring. After traveling sixteen and one half miles, we encamped near a small lake in sight of the Maison du Chien, which by bearings and calculation Mr. Tinkham estimated to be about twenty-one miles distant. We passed on the march several salt-marshes abounding with tadpoles, from which the effluvia was very offensive. In some places the ground was covered with deposits of salt to the depth of a quarter of an inch. I am much pleased with our new guide, Le Bombard, who appears to have a very accurate knowledge of the country, although his ideas of distance are not found to be very reliable, which is generally the case with voyageurs.

July 20. Fitted out Lander's party, consisting of himself, Le Frambois, Guy, and Rummell, to make a reconnoissance of Butte Maison du Chien and the Coteau du Missouri, to connect our work with Lieutenant Grover's survey, and join us on the Mouse River in four days. We moved off about half past six, and after traveling five miles reached the first tributary of the Mouse River. The crossing occupied nearly three hours, the water being shoulder deep; half the wagon-loads were removed and carried across in the india-rubber boat. The road was generally very good, passing over a level prairie intersected with lakes and sloughs. About twelve miles from camp we struck a beautiful ridge, resembling a railroad embankment, which lay directly in our compass course; on the top of this the train moved for some miles. We passed around the first coulee of the Mouse River, and after a march of some seventeen miles (odometer measurement, 15.7), encamped on the bank of a small lake.

July 21. Left camp at six A. M. It commenced raining about nine, and lasted an hour or more. About eight miles from camp we saw the tracks of Grover's train in a slough, by which we judged that he had passed some days previous. Soon after this we crossed one of the coulees making into Mouse River. These coulees are very severe on the animals, in some places being very steep. We traveled to-day sixteen miles. Our camp is located on the top of a ridge, which descends into a coulee. We are about one hundred and fifty feet above the valley of Mouse River. There is plenty of timber in the coulee which we are to cross to-morrow in starting.

July 22. Left camp about 6.30 o'clock, and found the crossing of the coulee, about half a mile to our left. On the other side of the coulee we have a fine level plateau ahead. The grand Coteau du Missouri was in sight all day. The depth of the first coulee, as indicated by the barometer, was eighty-two feet below our camp. About four miles out we crossed another severe coulee one hundred and eight feet below the level of our camp. The third coulee was a depression of fifty-four feet, the prairie level being some forty-two feet lower than the level of our last camp.

While making our usual midday halt we were overtaken by two hunters of the Red River train from the vicinity of the Selkirk settlements, who were encamped some eight miles distant. They invited me to visit them, which I determined upon doing, and, placing the train in charge of Dr. Suckley, I gave him directions to move on some eight miles, find a good camping place, and await my return.

July 23. During my absence this morning Dr. Suckley sent Le Bombard and Sergeant Lindner ahead some twelve miles to reconnoitre for a good road for the train; Messrs. Tinkham and Burr went to the Mouse River, and Mr. Moffett, accompanied by Broadwell, went to the Grand Coteau.

I sent Guy and Rummell ahead to Dr. Suckley's camp to apprise him of our coming. At about four o'clock, accompanied by Governor de L'Orme and seven of his principal men, we started towards Dr. Suckley's camp. The whole force of the survey, headed by Dr. Suckley, Sergeant Lindner bearing an American flag, met us about a mile out of camp, and saluted us with a volley from their guns, the mountain howitzer being fired three times. A large tent was put up for the accommodation of our guests, and Governor de L'Orme was invited to share my tent. The guard tent was made use of as a banqueting-room, and several of the men were detailed to collect buffalo chips. The cooks of the various messes assisted each other, and the meal was ready for us about nine o'clock. Tinkham and Burr got in just in time to partake of it with us, as also did Moffett and Broadwell. Mr. Moffett reported the height of the bluff or Coteau range as seven hundred and two feet above the level of Mouse River, and distant twenty miles from it; the height of the hill seven miles from the camp of to-day is two hundred and fifty-six feet.

Seated around the camp-fire, we had a very pleasant conference with our friends. I was very favorably impressed with Governor de L'Orme, and with his opinion in regard to their right to hunt on our territory, they being residents of the country north of our boundary line. They claim the protection of both governments, and the doubt as to the position of the boundary line makes them ignorant as to which one they have the most claim upon. During the hunting season they carry with them their families and their property, and they consider that this territory is open to them, that the right to hunt on it belongs to them, and that their children born during this transit over our soil possess the heritage of American citizens. With but little care, our government could obtain the whole of these people as citizens, thus protecting and building up our frontier, and having in this vicinity always a controlling check upon the Indians. Already is the salutary effect of their presence visible in the entire safety, now, with which single white men and small parties can go through this country. Their virtuous mode of life, their industry and frugality, their adaptation to frontier life, all combine to render them a valuable class of people, and well worthy the attention of our government. They expressed a desire that I should represent these things to the government, and I assured them that I would do so with pleasure. Governor de L'Orme, before retiring to rest, attended to his devotions, and I have been struck with his piety and real goodness, manifested in his conduct and conversation.

July 24. We took a late breakfast this morning, and after parting with our guests we got off at nine A. M. We halted for two hours at noon, during which time the hunters went out and drove a herd of buffalo towards us, and right on the line killed two fine cows. I sent Mr. Tinkham and Paul Boulieau out to the Mouse River, which they followed some distance, as also the River of the Lakes, joining us at camp at eight P. M. We made fifteen miles and a quarter to-day, and the grazing is excellent.

July 25. The express started this morning at six for Fort Union, which I think cannot be over one hundred and fifty miles distant. It consists of Mr. Osgood, Boutineau, Henry Boulieau, and Gray. They are to procure additional wagons or carts at Fort Union, and carry letters to Lieutenants Grover and Donelson. Messrs. Tinkham, Lander, and Paul Boulieau went to-day to make an examination of the Mouse River valley and the River of the Lakes. We had but one coulee to cross, and that was shallow, and offered no impediment. We made to-day twenty-one miles, and found fine grass and excellent water at our camp.

July 26. We started this morning about six o'clock, and, traveling eleven and one half miles, we halted on the bank of a lake. A herd of buffalo approached on the south side of this lake to drink, and crossed within gunshot on the opposite side. Some of our party fired at them, and Le Bombard followed, and killed a fine, fat cow. About seven miles farther on I received a letter from Mr. Osgood by the hands of an Assiniboine Indian. The express party camped last night about ten miles ahead of this place at a large encampment of Assiniboine Indians, numbering some one hundred and fifty lodges and twelve hundred persons. The Indians built for them a lodge in the centre of their camp, and treated them with great hospitality. One of them offered to act as Mr. Osgood's express, and he told them that on my arrival I would have a talk with them and make them some presents. By this note I also learned that Lieutenant Grover had passed some eight miles to the east of our line about four days ago.

July 27. Reaching camp a little after noon, fifteen miles from last night's camp, and about a quarter of a mile from that of the Assiniboines, numbers of Indians rode out to welcome us. We found them to be under the command of the chiefs Blue Thunder and Little Thunder, the latter probably thirty-six years of age. As soon as we were encamped, they informed me that they had reserved a present of skins for me, and were making preparations to have a talk. While dinner was being prepared, many seated themselves in squads around the tents, smoking with the men. One large pipe served a dozen, and the custom adopted is to smoke it a little and pass it to their neighbor, and thus go round. It is the first signal of welcome or friendship after the hand is offered, and they will have no business or other transaction previous to it.

After dinner, accompanied by Dr. Suckley, Messrs. Stanley, Lander, Tinkham, Everett, Evans, Adams, Menoc, with Paul Boulieau, Le Bombard, and Le Frambois as interpreters, I went to their camp, which was irregularly arranged in a sort of corral, consisting of about one hundred and fifty lodges, averaging ten persons to each lodge.

Our approach was hailed by the barking of an immense number of dogs. These dogs are a prominent feature in every Indian camp, being used for drawing lodges, provisions, and property from place to place, — indeed, furnishing the entire transportation of the Indians in winter. A sledge drawn by four dogs will carry two hundred pounds over the snow with great ease. They appeared also to be abundantly supplied with horses, many of which were of good quality. All the women and children turned out of the lodges as we passed, curious to see us. Frames of poles stood around, upon which skins and meat were drying. Yet, in spite of the appearance of plenty, all had a look of poverty, judging from the meagreness of clothing and the length of time it appeared to have been worn, while all appeared very filthy and miserable.

A very large lodge, about fifty feet in diameter, had been erected for our reception in the centre of the inclosure, within which we found seated two circles of chiefs, braves, warriors, and others. At the back of the lodge was arranged a long seat for us, consisting of a pile of skins, which were afterwards presented to me.

There were about eighty persons present, including our own party. During the preparation for the ceremonial reception, there was a general smoking among all present, during which an old man, one of the dignitaries of the tribe, prepared the pipe of reception, only smoked on great occasions. The stem was decked with ribbons of various colors, and when it stood obliquely, feathers would drop down like the wing of a bird. At the lower end of this pipe, where it enters the bowl, was a duck's head. The pipe-stem was supported against a small stick stuck in the ground and crotched at the end. The pipe was turned towards the sun, the invariable practice in such cases. Some sweet grass, platted, was then set on fire and used in the manner of incense, both to the bowl and the stem. After lighting the pipe with the scented grass, it was planted near by in a small hole and burned.

During the smoking the bearer of the pipe shook hands with each member of our party, handing the pipe after this ceremony was over. Then a bowl of water was handed around by a second individual, who also shook hands with each one of us before we drank of the contents of the bowl. Next came the eating of soup, made of buffalo and typsina, a species of turnip, which was rich and greasy but quite palatable. Soon after this ceremony, which completed the reception, an old man advanced to me and shook hands, after which he shook the hand of each member of our company. His appearance was much in his favor, carrying himself with great dignity. With considerable fluency, and at times with many gestures, he addressed me substantially as follows: —

"My father, you see us now as we are. We are poor. We have but few blankets and little clothing. The Great Father of Life, who made us and gave us these lands to live upon, made the buffalo and other game to afford us subsistence; their meat is our only food; with their skins we clothe ourselves and build our lodges. They are our only means of life, food, fuel, and clothing. But I fear we shall soon be deprived of these; starvation and cold will destroy us. The buffalo are fast disappearing, and before many years will be destroyed. As the white man advances, our means of life will grow less. We will soon have to seek protection in our poverty from the Great Father, who can so well supply it.

"My father, we hear that a great road is to be made through our country. We do not know what this is for, we do not understand it, but we think it will drive away the buffalo. We like to see our white brothers; we like to give them the hand of friendship; but we know that, as they come, our game goes back. What are we to do?"

After shaking hands with all of us he sat down, and after a short interval of silence the chief, through his interpreter, signified a desire to hear me reply.

I explained that the road to be made from the Mississippi to the Pacific would not injure the Indians, nor deprive them of comforts; that whites would settle along the line, and, though they would drive off the buffalo, they would also supply other articles in place of them. They would receive from the President implements of agriculture, and learn to till the soil, so as to obtain food with less labor than now.

I told them that I would go through the lands of the Blackfeet and other Indians beyond the Yellowstone, carrying the friendly messages of the Great Father, and insisting on peace among all, to secure the safety of the whites. My remarks seemed to make a very favorable impression, and were received with every mark of respect. Their approbation was shown, as each paragraph was interpreted, by the ejaculation "How!" a common word, answering every purpose of salutation, approval, or concurrence.

The present they gave me consisted of thirty-two dressed skins and two robes.

We spent about half an hour in going around among the various lodges, and then returned to our camp, being followed by the whole encampment. During the time we were engaged in inspecting their camp, they became aware of the profession of Dr. Suckley, and there was scarcely a lodge that did not contain some patient for his medical attention. The doctor vaccinated some eight or nine, and through Le Frambois explained its object. It was near dusk when the party arrived at our camp and were arranged to receive their presents. They were seated around in the form of three sides of a square, the open side being opposite the places occupied by our party, the chief, and higher order of the Indians. At each of the four corners was posted a brave or chief. These men never receive a gift, considering it a degradation to receive anything but what their own prowess acquires for them. Their hearts are so good and strong that they scorn to take anything, and self-denial and the power to resist temptation to luxury, or easily acquired property, is a boast with them. On these men in time of peace, when difficulties occur among themselves, the tribe relies, and in time of war they are their leaders to the scene of action. To two old men of the tribe was assigned the duty of making the distribution, and the presents were placed in the centre of the area. During the whole distribution the Indians sat in perfect silence. All seemed satisfied with the articles they received, and not a grumble escaped one of them. After this was over they returned to their camp, the chiefs and braves remaining. At half past eight we had a collation of coffee and bread in our mess tent, and remained till a late hour, smoking and conversing. Soon after this our friends left, myself and the interpreters escorting them outside the sentinels. I was much pleased with these Indians, and they seemed to be very favorably inclined towards the whites, and sincere in their professions of friendship. Nothing to-day of the slightest value has been missed, as far as I can learn.

July 28. It was very late this morning before we started, being occupied in fitting out a party, consisting of Mr. Lander, Dr. Suckley, Mr. Burr, and Corporal Rummell, with instructions to strike the Pierced Rock on Mouse River, and make a careful examination for coal and iron. They were to explore the White Earth River, examine the Coteau du Missouri, and, reaching the 49th parallel, make a detour to the northwest, and arrive at the Yellowstone in some three or four days.

Four days later, on August 1, after a march of eighty miles along the Mouse River and the River of the Lakes, they reached Fort Union. As the broad Missouri and its beautiful bluff banks dotted with timber came into view, the whole party gave three cheers. Lieutenants Donelson and Grover, who had already arrived at the fort, and Mr. Denig, the trader in charge, came out to meet them. The governor mounted his horse, for the first time since the false alarm about the Sioux, and received them with a salute of a volley of small-arms, which was answered by thirteen guns from the fort. News was brought of the death of sapper White, of Donelson's party, by the accidental discharge of a gun in his own hands. Camp was soon pitched, and the whole party assembled at the governor's tent.

"I congratulated them on the zealous performance of their duty, gave them a cordial invitation to go on, and whatever their determination, even should they leave us here, promised them an honorable discharge. All seemed desirous of going on, and not one availed himself of the opportunity to leave the expedition.

"By the great vigilance exercised on the march, the animals had been constantly improving, gaining flesh and becoming cured of sores, so that, though we started from the Mississippi with forty disabled animals, all but one were serviceable on our arrival at Fort Union.

"The whole distance from St. Paul to Fort Union is by odometer measurement 715.5 miles, and we had accomplished it in 55 days, and, excluding halts from time to time, in 48 traveling days. The rate of traveling was therefore about 15 miles a day, most of the way over a country almost unknown, without roads, and with such an imperfect knowledge of the distances to be made between camps as to cramp our movements much more than if the route had been measured and itineraries constructed for our use."

CHAPTER XVIII

FORT UNION TO FORT BENTON

"FORT UNION is situated on the eastern bank of the Missouri, about two miles and three quarters above the mouth of the Yellowstone. It was built by the American Fur Company in 1830, and has from that time been the principal depot of that company. It is framed of pickets of hewn timber, about sixteen feet high, and has two bastions, one at the northwest and one at the southeast corner. The main or front entrance is on the side opposite the river. The fort is 250 feet square. The main buildings, comprising the residence of the superintendent and the store, are on the front or eastern side. They are two stories high, and built of wood. The shops and dwellings of the blacksmith, the gunsmith, the carpenter, the shoemaker, the tailor, and others are of adobe or of wood, and occupy the other sides. These mechanics are mostly French half-breeds, and have half-breed or Indian wives and many children. There is a grassy plain around the fort, extending to the base of the rising ground, which is a full mile distant on the eastern side. The Assiniboines, the Gros Ventres, the Crows, and other migratory bands of Indians trade at this fort, exchanging the skins of the buffalo, deer, and other animals for such commodities as they require. Mr. Culbertson, who has occupied the position of chief agent of the company during the past twenty years, has under his supervision not only Fort Union, but Forts Pierre and Benton also. He is a man of great energy, intelligence, and fidelity, and possesses the entire confidence of the Indians. His wife, a full-blooded Indian of the Blood band of the Blackfoot tribe, is also deservedly held in high estimation. Though she appears to have made little or no progress in our language, she has acquired the manners and adapted herself to the usages of the white race with singular facility. Their children have been sent to the States to be educated in our best schools."

Fort Union was long since abandoned.

Agreeably to instructions, Mr. Culbertson, immediately on reaching Fort Union, dispatched expresses to the chiefs of the Blackfoot nation with presents of tobacco and goods, and Governor Stevens's message: —

> "I desire to meet you on the way, and assure you of the fatherly care and beneficence of the government. I wish to meet the Blackfeet in a general council at Fort Benton. Do not make war upon your neighbors. Remain at peace, and the Great Father will see that you do not lose by it."

The Blackfeet at this time numbered 12,000, divided into four great bands, — Blackfeet proper, Bloods, Piegans, and Gros Ventres. Pressing down from the north over a century before, they drove back the Crows, Shoshones, and Flatheads, and took possession of all the country about the headwaters of the Missouri from above the boundary line to the Yellowstone, and from the Rocky Mountains eastward to Fort Union. True Ishmaelites, they waged perpetual war upon all other tribes, and cherished special and inveterate hostility against the whites ever since one of their number was slain by Captain Lewis, of Lewis and Clark's expedition, in 1807. They suffered, indeed, two rival trading-posts on the upper Missouri, three hundred miles above Fort Union, namely, Fort Benton and Fort Campbell, for it was indispensable for them to exchange their peltries for arms, ammunition, blankets, and goods; but the traders never dared admit them within the forts.

War was their sole business, the only means by which the young braves acquired influence, gained wealth, and found favor in the eyes of the maidens. Their war parties invariably started out on foot, each warrior trailing a long lariat, and bearing a bundle of moccasins with rawhide soles. It was a point of honor never to return unless mounted, and war parties were sometimes absent over a year before they succeeded in capturing their steeds. Penetrating thus on foot from three hundred to a thousand miles into the country of their foes, they would patiently lurk in the mountains, or some hidden resort, until an opportunity offered, when, running off the horses, and perhaps lifting a few scalps, they would retreat home at full speed, mounted and triumphant. Thus they raided the Crows and Assiniboines on the east and south, the Shoshones, Snakes, and Flatheads on the west, and even beset the emigrant trail of the Platte and South Pass, eight hundred miles distant; and many a lonely trapper and emigrant had fallen victim to their cunning and ferocity. Yet the chiefs and elders plainly saw that this incessant warfare was slowly but surely cutting off their warriors in detail, and threatened the ultimate extinction of the tribe, and were not unwilling to relinquish it for a more peaceful mode of life, but ever found it impossible to restrain the young braves.

With these powerful and intractable savages Governor Stevens undertook to make a lasting peace, not only between them and the whites, but also between them and their hereditary enemies, the other Indian tribes. He early realized that the establishment of peace and the cessation of Blackfoot war parties were indispensable to the exploration and settlement of the country, and the passage of emigrants through it, and characteristically set to work to effect it, without waiting for orders. He took every opportunity to meet and confer with the chiefs and parties of the Blackfeet, urging them to make peace, and proposing a great council for the next year, at which they and the whites and the other Indian tribes were to meet together and unite in bonds of lasting friendship.

From Fort Benton the governor reported his views and action to the government, and in the strongest manner recommended the holding of the council. He sent Mr. Culbertson expressly to carry his report to Washington, and impress his policy upon the government. It is remarkable how Governor Stevens, although eminently loyal and subordinate to authority, always impressed his own views upon the government, and caused them to be adopted, instead of waiting for instructions to be given him. With his sagacious foresight and ardent patriotism, he was quick to discern needed measures, which always appeared to him as duties to be undertaken, and moreover he had such courage and force of character that he never hesitated to take the responsibility of any action that he deemed necessary for the public welfare.

Thus far the expedition had met with most gratifying success. Lieutenant Donelson made a satisfactory examination of the Missouri to a point one hundred and twenty-five miles above Fort Union, and an extended reconnoissance of the country north of that point. The main party surveyed two routes westward from Pike Lake, and ascertained the topographical features on both flanks for a wide scope, while Lander, during the stay at Fort Union, examined the Mouse River country northward to the 49th parallel. Dr. Evans was at work geologizing in the Bad Lands on the other side of the Missouri. The force was now hardened to field work and in fine spirits, and the animals were toughened, thoroughly broken, and in fine condition.

"From the 2d to the 9th of August we were closely occupied in preparing for the continuation of the survey. The men were engaged in making Pembina carts, and additional transportation was purchased of the fur companies. Our experience thus far had shown how well adapted ox-trains were to transportation, and accordingly two additional teams were added at Fort

Union. In all these arrangements both the fur companies zealously coöperated, placing at my disposal not only all the animals they could spare, but guides, hunters, and their information in regard to the country. We were much pleased and benefited by the good offices of the Indian women at the two posts, the wives of the officers, who fitted us out with a good assortment of moccasins, gloves, and other guards against the severity of the weather in the fall and winter.

"The voyageurs belonging to the fur companies' posts thought it a good practical joke to spread bugbear stories about the immense snows to be expected early in the season, and many of the men got to believe that they would find snow knee-deep before they reached Fort Benton, and that it would be twenty feet deep in the passes of the Rocky Mountains in October, and the men became exceedingly alarmed. Fortunately I had with me some books of travel in that country, particularly De Smet's 'Oregon Missions,' and had carefully investigated the climates of the country west of the Rocky Mountains. Mr. Culbertson and the officers of the companies also gave me reliable information in reference to the lightness and lateness of the snow this side of the mountains, and therefore little difficulty was found in satisfying the men that they had been trifled with in this matter."

Advancing the expedition westward again in two parties under Lieutenants Grover and Donelson on the 9th of August, the governor, to quote from his final report,

started on the 10th from Fort Union at about twelve o'clock, followed by a war party of the Blackfeet, consisting of twenty Blood Indians and forty Piegan Indians, who arrived at Fort Union on the 8th on a visit to my party, and with whom I had had the most friendly interchange of civilities. I desired their company for two or three days in order to impress them fully with the beneficent policy of our government towards the Indians, and with the peaceable character of my own duties and objects, intending then to dispatch them on their way to their several tribes, and to make generally known to the Blackfoot nation our objects in passing through their country. I camped that evening with Lieutenant Grover on the Little

Muddy River, when, towards night, a serious difficulty came near happening between them and our party. Mr. Culbertson and myself, however, succeeded in arranging the matter, and we spent a most interesting evening with the principal men in conversing about the Blackfeet and the Indian policy of our government. On this occasion I presented the subject of a general council to be held at Fort Benton the ensuing year, to make peace between the Blackfoot Indians and the hunting tribes west of the mountains, and to preserve peace with the white children of the Great Father. On this as on previous occasions, Mrs. Culbertson, a native of the Blood tribe of the Blackfeet, was unwearied and efficient in her good offices.

The next day we reached the Big Muddy River. The crossing was at a difficult ford, and we were all highly gratified at the zeal and efficiency of one of the Blackfeet, who pulled as steadily at the rope as any man of my party.

Before leaving the Big Muddy I had a long conversation with the White Man's Horse, the chief of the war party of Blackfeet. He had frequently visited the Bitter Root valley, and stolen horses from the Flatheads. He observed, "I take the first Flathead horse I come to; it is sure to be a good one." He and one of his men had just returned from the Flathead country, and they gave a very favorable description of the route, assuring me, pointing to my wagons and Pembina carts, that there would be no difficulty in taking them through the mountains. The country between Fort Union and this point is broken and rolling, with occasional formations of the *mauvaise terre* and outcroppings of sandstone. On the Big Muddy there is quite a large and open valley of a very good soil and excellent grass, with a very heavy growth of cottonwood near its junction with the Missouri.

On starting from the Big Muddy on the 14th of August, the command was in most excellent condition and spirits. Two of the mule teams were strengthened by an additional pair of mules, and the wagons were somewhat overloaded; for I determined to take nearly all my provisions along, so there should be no possibility of suffering for want of food, even though the depot of provisions in the Bitter Root valley had not been established by Lieutenant Saxton. We made eleven and a half miles, and encamped at a most beautiful point in the midst of luxuriant grass. The day was very sultry, some rain fell, and one ox died from the heat.

August 15. Excellent road all day. Crossed Poplar River and encamped on the west side, distance eighteen miles. I now felt the importance of renovating my health in order to prepare for the mountain work. It had been my custom thus far to continue at work till midnight, and to be up with the first in the morning.

August 16. The road to-day was over the level river-bottom of the Missouri. Timber in sight all day, the route running through timber for about a mile. Reached a camp where there was excellent water, grass, and abundance of timber at five o'clock, making twenty three and two thirds miles. I issued this evening an order directing every person in the expedition, so far as it was consistent with his duties, to walk a portion of the way each day; for in approaching the mountains my effort was that the animals should be increasing rather than diminishing in flesh, and our experience had taught us that, by care in all these particulars, long marches could be made and the animals improved each day.

August 17. Made fifteen miles to-day, and camped on the Missouri at two o'clock. The road was over the level river-bottom. Much side work has been done since leaving the Big Muddy by Lieutenant Grover, Mr. Lander, and Mr. Tinkham, and the meteorological observations have been as numerous as they were on the route up to Fort Union. We organized to-day a day guard for the care of the animals, the object being to keep them in the best grazing without picketing as long as possible.

August 18. Passed through to-day villages of prairie dogs. Crossed the Porcupine River about five miles from camp. Encamped on Milk River, sixteen miles being the day's march. Here we determined to remain a day to prepare charcoal for the blacksmith, and to make observations for the geographical position of its mouth, which is considered a very important point in the survey. Our camp was surrounded by a large grove of cottonwood, and near it was a delightful spring of water. The valley of Milk River is wide and open, with a heavy growth of cottonwood as far as the eye can reach, which is also to be found along the adjacent shores of the Missouri.

At this camp, which I named Camp Atchison, in honor of the acting Vice-President, I reduced to writing, and issued in an order, the instructions for the government of the expedition and the distribution of duties, under which we had been moving by my verbal instructions from the Big Muddy River. I availed myself of this opportunity to express my sense of the services of the several members of my party. On the 19th there was some little alarm in camp in consequence of false reports about the vicinity of a war party of Blackfeet.

We left Camp Atchison on the 20th, and after moving fifteen miles reached a very pleasant camp, with excellent grass, wood, and water. In the evening there was a very heavy thunder-storm. My order was read to the gentlemen of the party this evening, and was the subject of general congratulation, and not a little mischievous by-play or joking.

August 21. This morning was clear, cool, pleasant, and delightful for moving. Engineer parties, both yesterday and to-day, have been actively at work getting in the country bordering the route of the main party. I dispatched a small party across Milk River to Panther Hill to observe the country. Game was very abundant; plenty of buffalo, antelope, and beaver. A heavy rain and thunder-storm occurred about noon. Wild horses were reported as having been seen to-day by the reconnoitring parties. A fine eagle was shot and brought in to Dr. Suckley, our naturalist. To my exceeding regret, I found that there were points arising regarding the relations of army officers and civilians, and I concluded that the only way to overcome all difficulty was to pursue a firm, steady course, according to the terms of my written order. The distance to-day was seventeen and two thirds miles.

August 22. We crossed Milk River five miles from camp, and took a cut off to the south. We made our camp, after moving nineteen and a half miles, a quarter of a mile from the river, in the vicinity of a very heavy growth of cottonwood, there being a high bluff between us and the river. As usual, the evening was spent in considering the question of the proposed Blackfoot council, and in examining the work of the parties, and preparing for the work ahead. We passed through large herds of buffalo to-day.

August 23. We left camp late in consequence of the oxen straying, and about a mile from camp crossed Milk River. The order to walk some miles each day has been carefully observed, and the effect was to be seen upon our animals. On reaching our camping-ground, we found a deputation of Gros Ventres, consisting of seven of their chiefs, five of whom were accompanied by their wives. Among these was the Eagle Chief and his son, White Eagle, and the Little Soldier. The wife of the son of Eagle Chief was a very pretty woman. Her name was the White Antelope. They welcomed us in the most cordial manner, and were dignified in their deportment, which was marked by the strictest propriety. We were invited to visit their camp, about thirty miles farther on. After smoking and talking for some time, lunch was served up about dusk, consisting of coffee, rice, etc., after which they made us presents of horses, giving one to myself and two to Mr. Culbertson, to whom they seemed to be much attached. There was a large tent put up for their accommodation, and supper was provided about ten o'clock.

As my health had now been rapidly improving for some days, I determined to push ahead as rapidly as possible with two advance parties in order to examine the approaches to the mountains. Accordingly I organized two parties, under Lieutenant Grover and Mr. Lander, for the above purpose. To Mr. Lander I assigned four and to Lieutenant Grover five members of the party. Each was provided with reserve horses, and with fifty days' rations of flour, sugar, and coffee. These arrangements delayed me, so that on the following morning,

August 24, I got off somewhat late, and was obliged to go into camp seven and a half miles this side of the Indian camp. Our Indian friends were again with us to-night, and we treated them with bread and coffee.

I learned to-day that a feud has lately broken out between the Gros Ventres and the Blackfoot tribes. A Gros Ventre was married to a Blackfoot woman. Traveling along, he was attacked, killed, and a fleet horse of his stolen. His wife was with him at the time, and the assassin proposed that she should marry him, go northward, and the Gros Ventres would never learn of the death of one of their tribe. She assented. He gave her the slow animal, upon which he had ridden himself, mounting the fast horse, which had been taken from her murdered husband. They soon arrived at water; she went off to get some, and on her return pressed him to go, as the water was very good. He did so, leaving his horse with the squaw. After he had gone some two or three hundred yards she mounted the fast steed, and, pursuing a contrary direction, joined the tribe of her deceased husband, and gave such information as would lead to the revenge of his untimely death. I find these Indians determined to revenge this outrage, and they are now fitting out war parties for the purpose of cutting off straggling Blackfeet, and stealing their horses.

August 25. Took an early breakfast, making to-day twenty-two and a half miles, when we reached the camp of Gros Ventres on the bank of Milk River, at half past three o'clock. This camp consisted of three hundred lodges, at least one thousand horses, and over two thousand Indians. We were soon waited on by others of the tribe, dressed in their finest costumes, among whom I would name the Cloudy Robe, who presented me with a horse; the Eagle, Big Top, the Discoverer or Ball in the Nose, the Man who goes on Horseback, the White Tail Deer, the Running Fisher, the Two Elks, the Wolf Talker, the Bear's Coat, White Bear, the Clay Pipe-stem Carrier, the Old Horse, the Sitting Squaw, the Little White Calf. Accompanied by the gentlemen of the party, I visited their camp and the lodges of the principal chiefs, at all of which we were treated with the utmost kindness and hospitality. They first received us in a large lodge prepared for the occasion, some twenty-five feet in diameter, within which some sixty were seated. We here smoked, drank, and ate, talked some time, and then visited the lodges. I was much struck with the prominent characteristics of this tribe. Polygamy is universal; several of the chiefs above named having four, five, and even six wives, one of whom is the especial favorite and mistress of the household. The husband will appropriate any of them to purposes of prostitution when he can profit by so doing. They are filthy in the extreme in their habits, many of the women actually eating the vermin out of each other's heads, and out of the robes in which they sleep. Being improvident, it is always feast or famine. Returned to camp about eight o'clock, and fixed the next day for a council.

August 26. The Pembina train arrived shortly after breakfast, and the main train about noon. The necessary preparations were made for the feast, and about one o'clock the Indians were seated around in squads of twenty or thirty to the number of two hundred. Before the feast the Indians seemed to be in high glee, passing the time in singing their songs, accompanying them with rattles made of the hoofs of antelopes strung very fancifully upon a piece of wood about a foot long, with which they marked time.

Shortly after the feast was over we had a council, at which the chiefs and many of the principal men were present. Mr. Culbertson acted as interpreter. When I first commenced talking with them, I found they were deeply enraged against the Blackfeet for the cause alluded to in the journal of the 24th; that they were determined to wage war against that tribe. I determined to put an end to this, and at once made a proposition to them to settle with that tribe on their delivery of the offender, or making a suitable reparation. I then explained the folly of going to war; how much they would suffer from it and how little was to be gained; that it was the desire of the Great Father that all his children should be at peace with each other; that while war parties of both tribes were scouring the country, the road was dangerous to the whites who should go there; and it was my duty to demand that they should not so act as to endanger the life of a single man of my own party, or any white man who should hereafter travel through this region.

I then proceeded to explain the objects of the expedition in passing through their country. I wished to make a treaty of peace between the Gros Ventres, Blackfeet, Piegans, and Bloods, and between these and the Indians west of the mountains who resort to the plains of the Missouri to hunt the buffalo. I then proceeded to explain the advantages which would arise to the Indians from entering into such a treaty, and receiving from the government directly what they now get from other Indians. They would then obtain goods, provisions, etc., in the way of annuities; could keep their horses, instead of being obliged to go with their horses and purchase of other

Indians at an increased price, what the liberality and benevolence of the Great Father, in his fostering care over his children, would at once freely and abundantly supply them. "Think well of the matter. Suspend for the present your difficulty with the Blackfoot Indians. Let some of your chiefs come with me to Fort Benton, and we will try to settle the difficulty between the tribes. If it cannot be settled there, let it be referred to a commissioner sent here by the Great Father, who will settle all your differences at a council of the tribes to be held next year, where the grievances of both parties will be fully heard. But I must insist on the safe conduct of every white man through this country."

They then held a consultation with their braves and principal men. In about an hour we met again. They assented to every proposition made. Some of their chiefs consented to accompany me to Fort Benton, and the whole tribe announced their willingness to wait until some time next year, and refer their difficulties to such a council. We continued the talk for some time, after which the Indians were invited to come over to the camp of the main party and witness the firing of the howitzer, which seemed to give them much pleasure. About five o'clock we made a distribution of the presents and provisions designed for this tribe, consisting of blankets, shirts, calico, knives, beads, paint, powder, shot, tobacco, hard bread, etc. They received them with the greatest satisfaction; no grumbling or envy was manifested. They continued about our camp, loitering, smoking, and talking, all the afternoon and evening.

August 27. Busy this morning in the purchase and exchange of horses with the Indians. We secured several very good horses in place of six very indifferent mules. Several members of the expedition bought horses for clothing, guns, etc., their private property, thus relieving for the use of the expedition their present riding animals. By the distribution of presents and provisions, and consumption at camp, we lightened our loads some two thousand pounds, apart from the issue to the detached parties, and have received twelve serviceable animals in place of unserviceable ones, besides four new ones purchased by members of the party, two presented to me, and two purchased by Mr. Culbertson.

August 28. I made to-day twenty-four and a half miles with the advance parties. I was very much pleased with the good offices of the Running Fisher, who brought into camp two of our missing horses. By my invitation he will accompany us to Fort Benton.

August 29. The road to-day was not as good as usual: the river-bottom was much dried up, with deep cracks in the soil, and the numerous holes made by the prairie dogs were even, at times, a worse obstacle to our progress. Made our halt about twelve miles from camp, where we dined. By an accident, the wind being high, the prairie took fire, which extended over considerable surface. Our dining-place was on a branch of Milk River, flowing from Cypress Mountain. Parallel to this, and some three miles farther on, crossed a second branch, issuing also from the Cypress Mountain. By a bend, the two branches nearly meet, forming what is called the junction.

Mr. Culbertson estimates the number of the Gros Ventres at about three hundred lodges, ten persons to the lodge, of which the proportion of men to women is one to two, the number of men being about six hundred. On his arrival in the country twenty-three years ago, they numbered four hundred lodges. In 1838–39, by a junction of the Crees and Assiniboines, some sixty lodges were entirely destroyed at Julius Mountain. A few years subsequently another attack was made at Cypress Mountain, in which sixty more lodges were exterminated, three men only escaping on this occasion, one of whom was the Sitting Squaw, father of the one already mentioned. Soon after Mr. Culbertson's arrival in the country, he and four or five other whites, with a party of Blackfoot Indians, were attacked by a war party of Assiniboines, numbering some seven or eight hundred. The field was contested all day, night only ending the conflict. In the morning the Assiniboines did not resume the attack, and abandoned many of their dead on the field. A considerable number of the Blackfeet were also killed, but none of the whites.

August 30. Yesterday we were in sight of the Bear's Paw, quite a broad and rugged mountain upheaval, stretching from Milk River to the Missouri. I sent off Lieutenant Grover, Mr. Lander, and Mr. Stanley, to make an examination of the Bear's

Paw, so far as it could be done by ascending one of its highest peaks, estimated to be about seventeen or eighteen miles distant. I moved on myself with the remainder of the party, having determined that I would no longer ride in the ambulance, but would make the effort to push forward either on horseback or on foot. After moving seven or eight miles I suffered so exceedingly from riding that I walked some five or six miles with great difficulty, until, coming to a good camp on our second crossing of Milk River, and the point where we were to leave it on our way to Fort Benton, I halted the party and rested for two hours. This gave me strength enough to mount my horse and ride to camp, eighteen miles farther on, on a tributary of the Box Elder Creek. We crossed several branches of this creek, which is a tributary of Milk River, that has its source very near the Missouri and is on our general line to Fort Benton. The ascent is very gradual from Milk River to our camp; the soil generally is very good. The view this afternoon was delightful. Bear's Paw itself presents a rugged, grotesque appearance, and it requires no great stretch of the imagination to see in it the paw of a grizzly bear, ready to spring upon the plain.

The Three Buttes, or the Sweet Grass Hills, some sixty miles to the northward of us, are a favorite resort of the Blackfeet, who say that Providence created these hills for the tribe to ascend and look out for buffalo. Southward we have a view of mountains on the other side of the Missouri. Our distance to-day was twenty-nine and a half miles.

August 31. We made an early start this morning, and in twelve miles came to the upper waters of the Box Elder Creek, which is a clear, limpid stream, affording an unfailing supply of water. We then pushed on five miles over a fine rolling prairie to a coulee in the hills, where there was a spring, and here we halted to dine. This spring is a great resort for buffalo. Considerable water flows from it, but the ordure of the buffalo was in such great quantities about it that it infected the water, and moreover they had trampled all the ground, and had stirred up the water of the spring with their feet. We however thought it would be well enough for us to make coffee, and we managed to get up a very respectable meal. After stopping three hours, we continued on over a very good road. There was a shower of rain and hail about four P. M. At five the Missouri was in sight, the Belt Mountains looming up beyond it at a distance of not less than fifty miles. After a march of thirty-three miles from our morning camp, we came to a place called the Springs; here the water was dried up, and there was no wood, but excellent grass. We pitched our camp in a coulee surrounded by high hills, and went to work to dig wells for water, in hopes to procure some for our animals. We succeeded in getting only a small quantity for each. There was a very high wind and a heavy thunder-shower until near midnight. Our Indian friends assisted us very much in the night in looking out for our animals. Grover, Stanley, and Lander have not come in, which gives me a good deal of apprehension. The Running Fisher told me a story to-day illustrating one of the phases of Indian life. The Bear's Paw, as one would infer from its wild and stern appearance, has been a scene of Indian fight and massacre. Seven years ago a fight occurred in the Bear's Paw between their tribe, allied with the Blackfeet, and the Crows, in which he killed one of the latter. The Crows occupied an impregnable post, from whence they could shoot down all who approached within twenty paces. A Blackfoot was shot in the head through a fissure in the rocks. The Gros Ventres then determined to surround and starve them out; at night the Crows got off with the loss of one man, killed by Running Fisher.

September 1. This morning we made an early start, and, crossing over a high, rolling prairie, in eleven miles and three quarters came to the Marias River. The descent to this river on the trail is somewhat steep, the prairie plateau being over two hundred feet above the river-bottom. The river itself here presents a beautiful view. It is a clear, limpid stream, flowing over a pebbly and sandy bed, the bottoms lined with cottonwood of heavy growth, with thickets of the service and other berries. The Belt Mountains are very distinctly visible in the distance, as is also Citadel Hill, called so because its base rests upon the Missouri, and it rises perpendicularly like a bastion some two hundred feet high. Near by is Square Hill, so called from its supposed resemblance to that geometrical figure.

At our noon halt, or near by, was the scene of a sanguinary conflict between the Gros Ventres and the Crows in 1849, in which the latter were all killed. Several of those traveling in our company figured in the action. A party of Crows to the number of twenty-two were concealed in the hollow just in advance of where we dined, for the purpose of stealing horses from the Gros Ventres' camp, consisting of two hundred lodges. Being discovered, the Gros Ventres surrounded them, and threw up dust in the air, which was carried by a strong wind in the faces of the Crows, blinding them, when the Gros Ventres rushed in upon them, and killed the whole number without losing a man. None were left to carry home the news.

We were off about noon; passed over the prairie, and descended in the valley of the Teton, where we met Mr. Clarke, in charge of Fort Benton, who came out to meet us. We arrived at Fort Benton at 3.30 o'clock, where we were received with a salute of fifteen guns.

Fort Benton stands on the eastern bank of the Missouri, near the Great Bend, and three hundred and seventy-seven miles by the trail taken by me above Fort Union. The river is here perfectly transparent at most seasons of the year. The Teton River empties into the Missouri six miles below Fort Benton, the Marias twelve miles below, and the Milk two hundred miles below. The falls of the Missouri are seventy miles above this fort. The muddy character of the Missouri has its commencement at the mouth of Milk River, which takes its name from the whitish muddiness of its waters. The ascent from the wide, grassy plain in which the fort is located to the high table-land is somewhat abrupt, the only passage on a level with the plain being close to the river on the south and very narrow. Fort Benton is smaller than Fort Union. Its front is made of wood, and the other sides of adobe, or unburned brick. It usually contains about a dozen men, and the families of several of them. The Blackfoot Indians are the principal traders here. It is the custom of the several bands of this tribe to locate in sheltered and otherwise eligible places in the vicinity of wood, water, and grass in the early winter, where they remain as inert as possible until the melting of the snow. At such times the half-breeds of the fort visit them with goods upon horses and mules, and exchange their merchandise for the skins and furs captured by the Indians.

Fort Campbell is situated on the same plateau with Fort Benton, about half a mile above it, and is built in very much the same way as the latter place.

I was agreeably relieved by the missing gentlemen coming into the fort September 3. They were in fine spirits, although they had eaten but little food since they left me on Milk River, had traveled a very long distance, partly on foot, and had been a good deal annoyed at the loss of so much time.

CHAPTER XIX

WIDESPREAD EXPLORING PARTIES

For several days Governor Stevens was busily engaged in examining voyageurs and Indians in regard to the mountain passes and the general character of the country. Additional horses were procured, and arrangements made for sending out parties to explore in advance and both north and south of the route. Lieutenant Donelson with the main train reached the fort on the 6th. Dr. Evans arrived on the 5th, after an extended trip through the Bad Lands, where he made a large collection of geological specimens. The same day Lieutenant Grover was sent forward with a small party to the Bitter Root valley, crossing the main divide of the Rocky Mountains, for the purpose of ascertaining if Lieutenant Saxton had established his depot of provisions at that point. Thence he was directed to forward an express to Captain McClellan and return to Fort Benton.

Lieutenant John Mullan, with a party of six men, was sent southward to the Muscle Shell River, not only to examine the country, but also to convey to a band of Flathead Indians supposed to be in that region "a message of peace and goodwill, to express my desire to make a permanent peace between them and the Blackfeet, and to build up anew their beautiful St. Mary's village." Thence he was to cross the mountains by a more southerly pass and rejoin the main party in the Bitter Root valley.

The governor decided to send Lieutenant Donelson ahead with a party of twenty-five men to examine the approaches to Cadotte's Pass, the main train to follow more slowly in charge of Mr. Osgood, and to dispatch Lander to examine a pass at the head of the Marias River, considerably north of Cadotte's. "I gave Mr. Lander," says the governor, "authority, with certain exceptions, to select his animals from my whole train, deeming it important that he should be exceedingly well fitted out, as he would probably have a long distance to make before he joined the main party in the valley of Clark's Fork." The governor was exceedingly desirous of taking his wagons across the mountains as the most striking demonstration of the practicability of the passes.

The following from a letter of George W. Stevens, of September 10, shows the high spirits and fine condition of the party: —

> "We have reached this point with our full number of scalp-locks, and now are preparing to cross the mountains. Up to this point we have proceeded with wonderful success, and have done what no American expedition has done before us. We have not felt the slightest hardship, but the journey of over one thousand miles has been made with as much ease and comfort as we could possibly have experienced in traveling at home fully equipped. Our train, of forty wagons and carts, over two hundred animals, and more than one hundred men, has safely arrived. Not a man has died (except one who accidentally shot himself), nor has there been a single case of serious illness. Not more than a dozen or fifteen animals have been lost, and as a general thing they are now in as good condition as when we left the Mississippi. We are now eighty miles from the Rocky Mountains. On Monday we leave with a train of twelve wagons, with which we hope to make a comfortable crossing of the mountains in twenty days. Yesterday the fort was the scene of the greatest confusion, growing out of the preparations making to fit out four 'war parties,' as we term them. The first, under Mr. Lander, explores the Marias Pass, the most northern and nearly in the latitude of the boundary line. The second, under Lieutenant Mullan, goes to the Muscle Shell. The

third war party is under the direction of Lieutenant Donelson, and is to survey the approaches to Cadotte's Pass, the one which will be taken by the main train. A fourth war party is the major's own to a camp of Piegan Indians. Lieutenant Grover is already in the mountains. The major's health is excellent, and though the labor is enormous, he is the only man who could have carried the expedition through in so glorious a manner. If he succeeds in getting the wagons through, he will have opened a good emigrant road from the Mississippi to the Pacific, and you may be sure the attempt will be most vigorously made. If fortune continues with us, within two months we shall reach Puget Sound, that looked-for garden-spot. We have met the Assiniboine and Gros Ventre bands of Indians, and by both were hospitably received. Upon the Sheyenne River we first came upon buffalo, and from that point until a week's journey back we have met them in the greatest abundance. Buffalo meat has, therefore, been our principal article of food, and we ask nothing better."

A very serious difficulty of another kind now confronted Governor Stevens. He found that the funds allotted to his exploration would not suffice to carry on the work so far and so thoroughly as he deemed necessary, and he was forced to the alternative of cutting it short or incurring a deficiency. He decided to continue the work, notwithstanding the great pecuniary risk to himself, and the risk, too, of incurring the serious displeasure of the government: —

"I very frankly and explicitly stated that to continue the survey, and to carry out the instructions with regard to the work to be accomplished, it was absolutely necessary to incur a deficiency: believing that, if the facts as they existed were known to Congress and the department, their instructions would be for me to continue the exploration, I determined to incur the deficiency and make the survey. My instructions required me to examine into the question of the snows on the route, into the freshets of the streams, and the period of time they were locked up by the ice, to do which it was indispensable that there should be winter posts established at Fort Benton, and in the Bitter Root valley; and it was desirable, in connection with these posts, to have such arrangements made, and such facilities afforded, as would enable the gentlemen in charge of them to continue the explorations of the passes and the adjacent country."

In a letter to Professor Bache the governor gives the reasons for his incurring the deficiency, which were, briefly stated, the delay in the start, owing to the young and unbroken animals furnished by the quartermaster's department, notwithstanding that the governor had sent an agent especially to St. Louis to insure the securing of seasoned and broken animals, and to the unusually late and rainy season; the distance across the continent, which turned out to be greater than the best estimates previously obtainable; the fact that in consequence of the great number of Indians on the route, and the warlike and treacherous character of some of them, particularly the Sioux and Blackfeet, it was necessary to make the expedition strong, especially in guides, interpreters, and hunters; and that to carry out the instructions and objects of the exploration it was indispensable to make extended examinations, and to leave parties to continue the work throughout the winter, in order to determine the questions of snow and climate.

It is perfectly apparent that the $40,000 allotted to the Northern route, even though eked out by the details and supplies furnished by the War Department, were altogether inadequate to the task intrusted to Governor Stevens. His management was marked by strict economy and good judgment; he was simply not given sufficient funds for the work. And it is most creditable alike to his judgment and moral courage that he shouldered the responsibility of the deficiency, and made his complete and exhaustive exploration.

Having completed all these arrangements, made his reports to the War and Indian departments, and started off the several detached parties, the governor decided to visit personally the main camp of the Blackfeet, near the Cypress Mountain, about one hundred miles north of Fort Benton, and just above the 49th parallel, in order to confer with their chiefs in regard to the contemplated council at Fort Benton next year, and secure guides for the survey of the Marias Pass. He desired, also, personally to examine the approaches to the several passes of the mountains from the boundary southward, expecting to overtake the main party before it reached the Bitter Root valley. Says he in the final report: —

> I gave my instructions to Lieutenant Donelson on the 9th instant, inspected the train, found everything in good order, the men cheerful, satisfied, and confident as to going on, and the means of transportation ample, and set off towards night, having been preceded a few hours by Mr. Lander, on the way to Cypress Mountain. I encamped that night on the Teton, fourteen miles from Fort Benton. Besides the party of Mr. Lander, I was accompanied by Mr. Culbertson, special agent; Mr. Stanley, artist; Augustus Hammell, interpreter; and three voyageurs.
>
> September 10. We had been joined last evening by a considerable party of the Blackfeet, who accompanied us to-day, the principal men being the Little Dog, the Three Bears, and the Wolf that Climbs. Started before seven, and after traveling three hours reached a fine spring, with excellent grass, at a celebrated landmark known by the name of the Rotten Belly Rocks. It is a formation of sandstone, and has the characteristic of *Les Mauvaises Terres.* Columns with capitals, resemblances to the human figure, etc., etc., abound. Beneath, in the coulee, passes the broad Indian trail leading to the Piegan camp. Here was killed Rotten Belly, the Crow chief, in an encounter between one hundred of his braves and eleven well-armed Gros Ventres of the prairie. This celebrated chief, urged on by his people, had previously beleaguered Fort

McKenzie. He captured all the animals of the fort, — thirty-five horses. The place was in charge of Mr. Culbertson, and there were but nineteen men to defend it. For a month this little force baffled all the attempts of the Crows to get possession of the fort. Being, however, in a starving condition, and it being apparent that it could not hold out much longer, resort was had to stratagem. All the squaws, twenty-nine in number, were dressed in men's clothes, and with arms in their hands were distributed around the fort in sight of the Crows, who, thus deceived in reference to the force defending the place, became disheartened, drew off, and separated. Rotten Belly, with a portion, mortified at his failure, declared that he would go north and seek death in battle. On reaching the rocks, and seeing the Gros Ventres, he said: "Here I will die to-day; you have brought me to this!" And, rushing upon his enemies, he killed two, and then received his death wound. Before his death he advised his people to be the friends of the whites, saying it was their only chance to escape defeat and utter ruin.

Kept on through the afternoon, passing over a rolling country, and reached the Marias about half past four o'clock, where we camped. This stream at our crossing was about fifty yards wide, one foot deep, and of somewhat rapid current, and the river valley was about a mile wide. There was plenty of cottonwood, and we had a most excellent camp. Spent the evening in conversing with the Indians who accompanied us.

September 11. We were off about seven o'clock, and after traveling until near noon halted at a spring, where we procured a small supply of water. Continuing on without unsaddling, in less than an hour I was overtaken by Baptiste Champagne with an express from Lieutenant Donelson, inclosing a brief report from Lieutenant Grover, to the effect that he met Lieutenant Saxton near the dividing ridge, and that they were returning together to Fort Benton. Lieutenant Grover intimated in his brief letter that Lieutenant Saxton reported the route could not be traversed by wagons. This changed the aspect of affairs, and I determined to send Mr. Stanley to the Piegan camp with the interpreter Hammell, and to return immediately with Mr. Culbertson to Fort Benton. I determined, also, to defer the examination of the Marias Pass to another season. There was not that harmony in Mr. Lander's party which I deemed indispensable to making the examination which I had intrusted to him. Accordingly I ordered him to return with me. Stanley continued on to the Piegan camp, and I started back on my way to Fort Benton. It made a long march for us, for to get a good camp it was necessary to reach the Marias. Our Indian guide made his way pretty directly to the camp: one hour and a half we traveled in the dark. The descent to the river was steep and difficult. We succeeded in getting into a good camp about eight o'clock. Before starting on my return, I dispatched an express to Lieutenant Donelson to push on with his advanced party, but to keep the main train till my arrival.

September 12. Started early, and, pushing rapidly, reached the fort by three o'clock.

Lieutenants Saxton and Grover also reached Fort Benton the same day. The former successfully led the western subsidiary party by way of Pend Oreille Lake to the Bitter Root valley, from which point Lieutenant R. Macfeely, with twenty-six men and sixty animals, no longer needed, returned to the Dalles, crossing the Bitter Roots by the southern Nez Perces trail, a more direct but vastly more difficult route than that of the lake. Lieutenant Richard Arnold, with his brother, Mr. Daniel Lyman Arnold, and four men, remained with the supplies at Fort Owen in the valley; while Lieutenant Saxton, with seventeen men, pushed on across the mountains, and was met by Lieutenant Grover at the summit on September 8; and, as the governor remarks, "He felt rejoiced that the plan of our operations had been successful and the object of the expedition accomplished, as a party from the Atlantic and one from the Pacific, each in search of the other, had met by appointment, after traversing thousands of miles of unknown country, at the foot of the dividing ridge between the oceans."

The same evening Mr. Tinkham arrived, after an extensive and successful trip of exploration up the Milk River to the Three Buttes, across country to Marias River, and thence to Fort Benton.

In consequence of Lieutenant Saxton's positive representation that it was impracticable to take the wagons across the mountains, Governor Stevens reluctantly decided to leave them at Fort Benton, a decision he afterwards regretted, for after traversing the route he was satisfied that he could have taken them at least across the main range to the Bitter Root valley without difficulty. The whole train was now outfitted with pack animals, and was pushed forward on the 16th under Lieutenant Donelson. Lieutenant Saxton, with all but three of the dragoon detachment and some discharged men, and accompanied by Mr. Culbertson, making a party of twenty-eight all told, was sent down the Missouri by keelboat with instructions to examine the river, especially as to the navigability for steamboats of its upper waters, disband his party at Fort Leavenworth or St. Louis, thence proceed to Washington, and make a full report, in which he was to urge the necessity of holding the proposed Blackfoot council, and of continuing the surveys of the mountain section of the route. The governor also instructed him to advise with Professor Bache in relation to the continuation of the survey, and to providing for the deficiency, necessarily incurred, in the next deficiency bill; giving him letters to the professor, and to Judge Stephen A. Douglas, Hannibal Hamlin, Dr. Gwin, H. M. Rice, then delegate from Minnesota, and other prominent senators and members of Congress. Mr. Culbertson carried the governor's reports to the Indian Department, and was charged also to urge upon that department the importance of the council.

Mr. Doty, with three men, was stationed at Fort Benton for the winter to make meteorological observations, and such examinations of the country as he could, and more especially to collect information about, and take a census of, the Blackfeet, and improve every opportunity to impress upon them the benefits of the proposed council and peace with the western Indians. As already stated, Lieutenant Grover was directed to examine the

Missouri for two hundred and fifty miles below the fort, and the country between it and Milk River, and afterwards to cross the mountains in midwinter with dog-sledges, and study the depth of snow and winter climate.

Lander, with a detached party, was directed to examine along the base of the mountains from the Marias Pass to Cadotte's Pass. As already stated, the governor had countermanded the survey of the former by Lander in consequence of the lack of harmony in that engineer's party. After leaving Fort Union, Lander developed a fractious, almost insubordinate disposition. He chafed at the presence and authority of the army officers. At Fort Benton Governor Stevens had to curb his insubordinate spirit with some severity, and even told him that he would shoot him down like a dog if he disobeyed his orders. Lander, realizing that Governor Stevens would enforce discipline at whatever cost, yielded, professing his readiness to obey instructions, but thereafter he did so according to the letter, not the spirit. Yet the governor, both before and after this occurrence, gave him the best opportunities for distinction, intrusting to him the most important side explorations, and in the reports gave him full and generous commendation for all he accomplished, passing lightly over his shortcomings. A bold, energetic, high-strung man, Lander could ill brook any authority. He afterwards conducted an independent government survey with credit, and but for his early death would undoubtedly have achieved distinction as a soldier. This appears to have been the only instance of lack of due subordination, or harmony, shown during the whole expedition, and certainly some of the governor's orders had been rigorous enough to cause restiveness, as, for instance, requiring the scientific gentlemen to break their own mules, to stand guard, and to walk a part of each day's march. Remarks the governor: —

"I was exceedingly gratified at this time by the spirit of the men. Several men, who I was afraid had not strength to make the trip, and whom I had ordered to accompany Lieutenant Saxton down the Missouri, were so anxious to go on that they brought me a certificate from the surgeon, Dr. Suckley, stating that in his opinion they were strong enough for the journey, and accordingly I allowed them to go on. We had now been together some three months, and there was great confidence between the several members of the exploration."

On the 20th Mr. Stanley returned from his trip to the Blackfoot camp, having traveled on horseback three hundred and twenty miles in eleven days. A thousand Indians accompanied him back as far as Milk River, where the main body remained to hunt, while thirty of their chiefs, with their families, came with him to Fort Benton to hold council with the great white chief, who remained for that purpose.

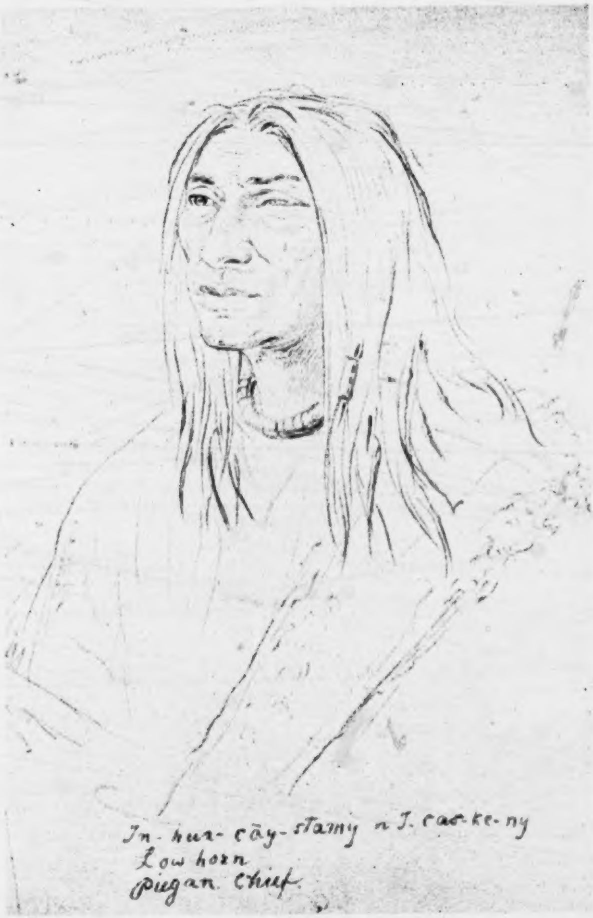
"On the 21st we held our talk with the Blackfeet. The chiefs and warriors were all richly caparisoned. Their dresses of softly prepared skins of deer, elk, or antelope were elegantly ornamented with bead-work. These are made by their women, and some must have occupied many months in making. The other articles of their costume were leggings made of buffalo skins, and moccasins, also embroidered, and a breech-cloth of blue cloth. Their arms were the Northwest guns, and bows and arrows. On all solemn occasions, when I met the Indians on my route, they were arrayed with the utmost care. My duties in the field did not allow the same attention on my part, and the Indians sometimes complained of this, saying, 'We dress up to receive you, and why do you not wear the dress of a chief?'"

"The governor addressed them in the same strain as the Gros Ventres: 'Your Great Father has sent me to bear a message to you and all his other children. It is that he wishes you to live at peace with each other and the whites. He desires that you should be under his protection, and partake equally with the Crows and Assiniboines of his bounty. Live in peace with all the neighboring tribes, protect all the whites passing through your country, and the Great Father will be your fast friend.'"

Low Horn, the principal Piegan chief, replied favorably in behalf of the Indians, but spoke of the difficulty of restraining their young men, who were wild, and ambitious in their turn to be braves and chiefs. They wanted by some act to win the favor of their young women, and bring scalps and horses to show their prowess. To this the governor rejoined: —

"'Why is it that you have two or three women to one man? Is it not because your young men go out on war parties, and thus the flower of your tribe is cut down? And you will go on diminishing every year until your tribes are extinct. Is it not better that your young men should have wives and children, and that your numbers should increase? Won't your women prefer husbands to scalps and horses? The Gros Ventres desire to meet you in council, and have the difficulties between you arranged. Will you meet them in council?'

"While in the council, Low Horn, the principal chief and speaker, made all his replies without rising from his seat, and in a quiet, conversational tone. After the council he assembled his braves, and resumed the lofty bearing of a chief. He addressed them with great fervor and eloquence, commanded them henceforth to cease sending out war parties, and threatened them with severe punishment if they disobeyed. It will not be uninteresting here to state that Low Horn, the quiet spokesman of the council and the trumpet-toned chief in the presence of his men, crossed the Missouri in 1855 with his whole band, moved up the Judith, and camped on the Muscle Shell, — the first man who extended the hand of welcome and friendship to the western Indians as they crossed the mountains on their way to the council, showing most conclusively that faith can be put in Indians; for it must be remembered that two years intervened between my conference with the Indians at Fort Benton in 1853 and their reassembling in 1855 at the council appointed at that time."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Low horn
Piegan Chief.

LOW HORN
Piegan Chief

CHAPTER XX

EXPLORING THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

SEPTEMBER 22. This morning we bade adieu to Fort Benton, and separated from the portions of the expedition who were assigned to duty east of the mountains. Before sunrise we saw Lieutenant Saxton off in his keelboat, drawing eighteen inches of water, accompanied by Mr. Culbertson, who was directed by me to report to the department at Washington, and to urge the importance of the Blackfoot council. Lieutenant Grover, on a smaller craft, commenced his minute examination of the Missouri. Mr. Doty, who had won very much upon me by his intelligence, his fidelity, his promptitude, and energy of character, parted from me with feelings of hope and pride at the idea that now a field was opening to him where he could be useful to his country, and make a reputation for himself.

In order to make a long march this day, the evening before I dispatched my train to a point well up on the Teton, some twelve miles from Fort Benton; and there Mr. Osgood and Mr. Stanley, who had remained behind with me at Fort Benton, and myself, breakfasted with the rest of our party. Dr. Suckley and Messrs. Evans and Kendall, who had assisted me in my correspondence, were the additional members of my party.

The whole party moved off at nine o'clock, continuing for some distance up the valley of the Teton, when we ascended a hill to the prairie, and in twenty-one miles reached a coulee, where there were springs of water sufficient for our animals. Large bands of antelopes were seen on the road. We struck the Prairie Lake at five P. M. Our guide, the voyageur Baptiste Champagne, took us to the nearest point of Sun River, hoping to get in before dark, but we did not reach camp till some time after. The view at almost any point of the plateau between the Teton and Sun rivers is exceedingly picturesque and suggestive. The various minor upheavals and swales of ground, which here and there dot the surface of the country, have connected with them some story of Indian war, wrong, or suffering. This whole country was once occupied by the Snakes, and in later times by some of the tribes of the Flathead nation. It belongs now to the Blackfeet by conquest.

September 23. Moved up the valley of the Sun River, having made an early start this morning. The Sun has a wide, open valley, grazing exceedingly good and soil excellent. We continued up in the direction of the pass between the Crown Butte and the Rattlers, prominent landmarks west of the river, and visible at a great distance. This is a favorite resort of deer, antelope, and bighorn. They were present to-day in very large numbers. Continuing on, we came in view of the Bird Tail Rock, and immediately to the west, in a line near it, is another landmark, known as the Piegan's Tear. After making forty miles we found a camp a little off our route, in a most delightful valley, a spring of water gushing out near by, and the remains of an old camp of the Blackfeet at hand, furnishing us with fuel already prepared to our hands.

September 24. Started as usual very early this morning, and in four miles came to Beaver Creek, a very beautiful stream of water. The stream is now full of beaver, and is much obstructed by their dams. The country is somewhat more broken to-day than it was yesterday; timber comes in view on the tops of the mountains, and the scenery becomes more grand with each mile as we proceed. Three miles beyond Beaver Creek, a high peak, called the Goose's Neck, comes in view to the south of us; at the southern foot of which equally as good a road is found, though some two days longer, as the one now being traveled by us. It is a branch of the present trail, and is usually pursued by the Flatheads on their way to buffalo. That is called the Flathead and our own the Blackfoot trail.

We now crossed several mountain streams in the course of a few miles, and in sixteen miles we struck the Dearborn River. At noon we moved forward to the dividing ridge, which was reached at four o'clock. To this point our road from near the Dearborn lay over sideling hills and through timber. As we ascended the divide, a severe pelting hail and rain storm, accompanied with high wind, thunder, and lightning, suddenly came upon us, and did not abate until we had reached the summit. The wind blew very violently, and the mist resulting from the storm prevented our getting a very clear view of the country before us. It was with great gratification that we now left the plains of the Missouri to enter upon the country watered by the Columbia; and it was the more especially gratifying to me as, looking to my future duties in the Territory, I felt that I could welcome to my future home and the scene of my future labors the gentlemen of the party, which I did very cordially and heartily. The scenery throughout the day's march, up to the divide, has been picturesque in the extreme; and the latter portion of it, from the entrance proper to the pass, our road passed between hills on every side covered with timber, on the sides of which we were constantly traveling; while many feet below are to be seen the small upper tributaries of the Missouri, flowing from their source in a valley that is very wide for so small a channel, and lined with verdure and the foliage in yellow leaf. All this made a combination full of interest to the eye of one who could appreciate the beauties of nature.

The ascent from the eastern base by the Indian trail is somewhat steep, though in 1855 I gained the summit by a large, wide, open ravine north of the Indian trail by a very gradual ascent, and without much increase of distance; I was a good deal surprised to find how small an obstacle this divide was to the movement of a wagon-train. Had we gone on with our wagons, there would not have been the slightest interruption, up to the entrance of the pass, to making the usual journeys each day.

We were twenty minutes simply descending on the western side, which was somewhat more steep than the eastern. Continuing on, we followed the valley of the Blackfoot River some ten miles, and camped in good grass, with excellent water and abundance of wood. Shortly after getting into camp it commenced raining, and continued steadily all night, the weather being raw and cold.

Immediately on crossing the divide, on the summit of the Rocky Mountains, Governor Stevens issued his proclamation, declaring the civil territorial government extended and inaugurated over the new Territory of Washington. And then, as related in the narrative, he heartily welcomed the members of the party to his new home.

It was on the summit of Cadotte's Pass that this dramatic and interesting scene occurred. As originally outlined, the main divide of the Rocky Mountains formed the eastern boundary of Washington, but subsequently the mountain section was joined to Idaho and Montana.

September 25. Raining hard this morning. The animals having strayed some distance, we were detained until eight A. M. The first fourteen miles was through an open, wide, and beautiful prairie, after which much of our way was through wood, where fallen timber offered serious impediment to our rapid progress. At one o'clock Stanley and myself, having gone rapidly ahead, had a big fire built to receive our party as they came up. Here we lunched. By three o'clock the clouds were breaking away, and the rain had ceased. Crossed several hills to-day, traveling on the sides of some of them. Just before we came out on the prairie on which we found Lieutenant Donelson and the main train encamped, we were three hundred feet above the level of the river. On the sides of the hill below us was growing the mountain pine; in the valley beneath, right at the base of this hill, was the clear, rapid stream; beyond was the foliage of the trees growing in the bottom. The tops looked like a rich, green carpet; further on were wide prairies, all bounded by a high ridge of beautiful hills, altogether forming a scene of surpassing beauty. At five P. M. we reached Lieutenant Donelson's camp, and found we had traveled one hundred and forty-four miles since leaving Fort Benton.

September 26. The gentlemen not required by my rapid trip to the westward, namely, Dr. Suckley, Mr. Evans, and Mr. Kendall, now joined the main party, and we pushed on over the Blackfoot prairie (called, in Lewis and Clark's narrative, the Prairie of the Knobs), and after a march of thirty-odd miles came to a beautiful camp, near what is known in the country as the cañon. To show the condition of the animals of the expedition, I will observe that as I passed by the mules of the train (for I remained somewhat late in camp this morning to confer with Lieutenant Donelson, the whole party being several miles on the march before I started), I observed that their rate of travel on a fast walk was from four to four and a half miles per hour, and the advance of the train moved thirty miles that day, getting into camp early, the animals being apparently not fatigued. We had hardly made up our camp-fire, when seeing a black bear and two cubs near by, we felt sure that we should have bear-meat for supper, but although all the voyageurs were on their track, they made their escape.

September 27. We started about seven o'clock, and soon entered the cañon, not, properly speaking, a cañon, for throughout its extent, until you reach the debouch of Hell Gate, there is no special difficulty on the trail, nor would there be excessive work to open a good wagon-road. But a good many sharp spurs come down close to the river, throwing the trail well back, or involving a crossing of the stream to avail one's self of the prairies invariably found opposite each of these spurs. Much of the country was of a very excellent description, abounding in timber, well watered, and with soil of an excellent quality. Emerging from the cañon, we came into a wide, open valley, commencing half a mile before reaching the mouth of the Blackfoot, continuing down the valley of the Hell Gate until we enter the Hell Gate Ronde, a large, extensive tract of many miles in circuit, and where the Hell Gate joins its waters to the Bitter Root. Crossing the Bitter Root at a good ford, we continued up its valley and reached a most excellent camp on the west side of the Bitter Root, some twenty miles from Fort Owen.[1]

September 28. Keeping up the west bank of the Bitter Root River we crossed two streams, one being the Traveler's Rest Creek of Lewis and Clark, and, passing through a grove of pine timber, in twelve and one half miles crossed the Bitter Root River, just before reaching which we met some Indians from Fort Owen. Lieutenant Arnold, whom we met after crossing the river, on his way to Victor's camp, returned with us. We reached Fort Owen[1] about noon, where we met the other gentlemen of Lieutenant Arnold's party. I found Mr. Lander in camp near Fort Owen, and learned that he arrived the day before yesterday.

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[1] The town of Missoula is seated at the entrance to Hell Gate. The Bitter Root River is now known as the Missoula, the name Bitter Root being transferred to a branch of Clark's Fork. The Bitter Root or St. Mary valley is likewise now known as the Missoula valley.

Fort Owen is situated on the Scattering Creek of Lewis and Clark. It was a matter of the greatest gratification, with their narrative in hand, to pass through this valley and realize the fidelity and graphic character of their descriptions. Lieutenant Arnold had been jerking beef against our arrival, and making all arrangements to enable us without delay to push on westward. I examined very carefully into the condition of the train left by Lieutenant Saxton, and of the provisions brought to this point, and had every reason to congratulate myself for having assigned to him this undertaking. We found there nearly two thousand rations, but the animals were very few of them serviceable, yet from their appearance it was obvious that none of them would continue unserviceable for any considerable time, and I believed they would be entirely equal to any service which Lieutenant Mullan's duties might require of them.

September 29–October 3. During these days we were all occupied in making arrangements for the movement of the parties westward, and to establish Lieutenant Mullan's winter post. Lieutenant Donelson arrived on the 29th with the main party, and Lieutenant Mullan on the 30th with a delegation of chiefs from the Flathead nation.

It will not be attempted here to give any extended account of the explorations made by the detached parties, which is very fully done in the final report by Governor Stevens. No less than nine passes across the main chain, covering the range from the 49th parallel to the Yellowstone, and four passes across the Bitter Root Range, were examined. The most northerly of these, the Marias Pass, is now traversed by the Great Northern Railroad, and one of the more southerly ones, the Mullan Pass, situated some fifty miles south of Cadotte's Pass, is crossed by the Northern Pacific Railroad.

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[1] Fort Owen occupied the site of the Flathead village and Catholic mission of St. Mary, which had been recently abandoned in consequence of the incessant forays of the Blackfeet.

Mr. Lander ran a line from the Marias River via the Teton, Sun, and Dearborn rivers to Lewis and Clark's Pass, being the one crossed by Captain Lewis on his return trip, and situated twelve miles north of Cadotte's Pass, and made an examination of the pass. After traveling some distance down the valley of the Blackfoot, he left it, and went across country to the Hell Gate River, and moved up the valley of this stream, mistaking it for the Bitter Root. Finally, realizing his mistake, he turned from it, and, crossing over a number of divides and streams, he followed an Indian trail which led him to Fort Owen. In consequence of this eccentric route, and his animals having been much pushed, they came in exceedingly jaded, although he started with the best train of the whole party. He made no observations bearing upon the railroad line except for seven miles of the pass, a short distance thence down the Blackfoot valley, and a small portion of the Hell Gate valley.

Lieutenant Mullan's trip to the Muscle Shell was a very extended one, four hundred and fifteen miles in length. He returned by the pass which now bears his name, accompanied by a delegation of the Flathead Indians.

Mr. Tinkham, after examining the approaches to Cadotte's Pass from the Sun River, on a more northern route than that taken by the main party, had left it at the camp of the 26th on the Blackfoot to explore a route westward to the Jocko and Clark's Fork, which it was expected might prove a cut-off, and had not yet rejoined the main party.

On September 30 and October 1 Governor Stevens had conferences with the chiefs of the Flatheads, and broached to them his great idea of a Blackfoot peace council. They were very doubtful at first, having too recent and bitter experience of Blackfoot depredations. What should they do, they asked, in case the Blackfeet came near their camp at night? In reply the governor advised them not to attack unless it was evident they intended to do mischief. Still they must not remain quiet and see their men killed or horses stolen. "I would leave Lieutenant Mullan with ten or fifteen men to protect you from the Blackfeet, but they have promised not to disturb you, and I believe they mean to abide by it," etc. After considering the matter for a day among themselves, the Indians promised to attend the council.

The governor decided to establish a post in the Bitter Root valley for the winter, under the charge of Lieutenant Mullan, in order to determine the winter regimen of the mountains, the depth and duration of snow, the climate, etc. Thirteen men were left with Lieutenant Mullan, and a large band of animals and ample supplies, and he was instructed to make careful meteorological observations during the winter, to continue the exploration of the mountain section, extending it to Fort Hall on the south, and as far as Flathead Lake or Clark's Fork on the north, and to keep a watchful and protective eye over the Flathead Indians.

The governor directed Lieutenant Donelson to proceed with the main party by way of Clark's Fork and Pend Oreille Lake, and assigned Lander to duty with him for side examinations, while the governor himself took the more direct but rugged Cœur d'Alene route over the Bitter Roots. To Dr. Suckley was intrusted the adventurous duty of descending the Bitter Root River, Clark's Fork, Pend Oreille Lake, and the Columbia River by canoe to the Dalles, then the frontier settlement. Lieutenant Arnold was to proceed from Pend Oreille Lake, separating from the main party at that point, in a direct westerly course to Colville, and thence to explore the plains of the great bend of the Columbia, east of that river.

Mr. Tinkham, who came in a few days later, was directed to explore the Marias Pass from the west side, and, crossing the mountains by it, to proceed to Fort Benton, confer with and take letters of instruction to Lieutenant Grover and Mr. Doty, and return to the Bitter Root valley by one of the southerly passes. Thence he was to cross the Bitter Root Mountains by one of the Nez Perces trails, and proceed to Walla Walla valley and Olympia.

Thus by the establishment of the two stations at Fort Benton and in the Bitter Root valley, under Mr. Doty and Lieutenant Mullan, respectively, and by the explorations of the detached parties, Governor Stevens kept the whole mountain region under observation and solved the questions of climate and snows. Indeed, he had the range crossed at every month in the year by one or other of these parties.

Continues the personal narrative: —

Accordingly, on the 2d Mr. Lander went down the valley to make some examinations of Hell Gate, and on the 3d Lieutenant Donelson was under way with the main party. I left on the 4th and overtook and camped with the main party in my old camp of the 27th and 28th of September. Continuing on, on the 5th we both moved down the valley, and encamped on the Bitter Root, some three or four miles below the mouth of Hell Gate. Here I ascertained that Mr. Lander, instead of waiting for the arrival of Lieutenant Donelson to receive the instructions which I had directed to be issued to him, to go down the Bitter Root to its mouth and join the main party at the Horse Plain, had preceded him on the main trail, and must be somewhere near the divide between the Bitter Root and the Jocko. Accordingly instructions were sent directing him to return in order to proceed on the duty which had been assigned to him.

This same day I visited Victor at his camp on the Hell Gate, three miles above its junction with the Bitter Root, and in return was visited by him at our camp, where we had much interesting conversation in regard to the Indians, the character of the country, and the passes, particularly in the winter. I determined to remain here until Mr. Tinkham returned, who had not yet been heard from.

October 6. Lieutenant Donelson moved off this morning on the route of the Jocko River and Clark's Fork. Mr. Lander, who had returned to my camp in compliance with instructions, moved down the Bitter Root this afternoon. I sent up to Fort Owen for Lieutenant Mullan, and we remained in camp, passing the time as pleasantly as we could, awaiting the arrival of Mr. Tinkham. Meanwhile a huge joint of beef was placed upon the spit, to be in readiness when the explorers should come in, and honest Sergeant Simpson undertook to act as cook. Bending over the fire, with huge drops of perspiration rolling from his glowing red face, a picture was presented which Mr. Stanley thought not unworthy a trial of his pencil, while Osgood jokingly told Simpson he was working then for "two dollars a day and roast beef." The meat was cooked in the nicest manner, and at half past five o'clock we sat down to it, having as guests Mr. Tinkham and his party, the returned "lost sheep of the house of Israel," also Lieutenant Mullan, who had arrived in season to join in our meal.

Having no guide, Mr. Tinkham had not succeeded in finding a direct route, but after a circuitous trip got through to the Jocko, and, moving back on Lieutenant Donelson's trail, joined the governor, who now gave him the instructions to examine the Marias Pass, etc. The narrative continues: —

It is extraordinary how easy of passage the mountains are in this latitude. A favorite time of the return of the Flathead Indians from the buffalo hunt is between Christmas and New Year's; it is only in winters of unusual severity that they are unable to cross during any month.

We have to-day seen at our camp a good deal of Victor, the Flathead chief, celebrated in the book of De Smet. He appears to be simple-minded, but rather wanting in energy, which might, however, be developed in an emergency. I secured a

Flathead guide to go with Mr. Tinkham through the Marias Pass, returning with him by the Flathead Pass. He was at first reluctant to go, but afterwards consented. In the course of the evening he came to me to decline going, and one or two of the men wished to back out. On tracing the cause to its source, I found they had been alarmed by some remarks of the guide Monroe, who told them he was afraid they would fall in with parties of Blackfoot young men. I will here remark that the Indian agent, Dr. Lansdale, in 1856 went over the route from the Jocko to the Big Blackfoot, sought by Mr. Tinkham in 1853. It is much used by the upper Pend Oreille Indians in going to hunt buffalo east of the mountains.

October 7. At 8.30 o'clock we were on the road, the party consisting of Mr. Stanley, Mr. Osgood, and four voyageurs, with Antoine Plante, the half-breed guide. Mr. Lander, who had preceded us, we overtook in twenty-seven miles, when continuing on eight miles over a rolling country, we came to a good camp on a small stream of water; wood and grass most excellent. The valley of the Bitter Root is generally a wide valley, with occasional spurs running sharp down to the banks of the stream, but having opposite to such spurs an open prairie on the other side of the river.

October 8. We started at 7.30 o'clock, passing over a hilly, wooded, and at times difficult country, with several patches of prairie, one of which, two and a half miles long and containing probably 1000 acres, was covered with an excellent growth of grass. Here we met a band of fifty Nez Perces Indians going to hunt. They have from 250 to 300 horses, most of them splendid animals, in fine condition, and with perfectly sound backs. Women and children helped to compose the band, and babies of fifteen months old, packed in a sitting posture, rode along without fear, grasping the reins with their tiny hands. We met them in the entrance to a narrow place, a mile in length, leading along the water's edge; and wishing to have a talk with them, but unwilling to lose time in returning to the open ground, I invited them to turn around to the first prairie, which Antoine assured me was not more than a mile or two beyond. The prairie we found to be well grassed, open, and wooded. We now made our halt, and, while preparing for our talk, a band of Cœur d'Alenes joined us. They, too, were on their way to the hunt, and numbered about sixty, men, women, and children, and had about 200 horses. We had a long talk. I told them about the steps taken to meet in council at Fort Benton; dwelt particularly upon the prospect of the Blackfeet making peace with all the Indian tribes,—upon the promise they had given that their war parties should be stopped; and told them that at Fort Benton and at St. Mary's I had left men who would interfere unless these war parties ceased. This intelligence was most gratefully received. They tell me that they return from the hunt in March, going home by the Pend Oreille route. We parted with them at two o'clock, and at six made a good camp near the ford by which we mean to cross to the left bank of the Bitter Root River. Two miles from camp we met two Pend Oreilles, who turned around with us. At the camp we found a mother and daughter who had just crossed the river and pitched their lodge. They had eight pack and as many spare animals, and were on their way to join the Indians we met this morning. We gave all the Indians coffee, and the women in return gave us some cooked kamas root. It is of a dark color, small, between the pear and onion in shape, and of a sweet, agreeable flavor.

October 9. We started at eight, and crossed the ford. The ride of to-day has been rather tedious. We left the valley to get rid of the undergrowth of bushes, and took a trail over the side-hill, which carried us up and down hill successively, and in some instances through woods, occasionally obstructed by fallen timber. At noon we halted at a creek, where we found a single Indian family drying venison. For a little tobacco they gave us some fresh meat and trout, which we roasted before the fire, and which made us a substantial lunch; after which, pursuing our course, we fell upon a stream flowing from the dividing ridge, and, continuing up it six miles, made a camp where we found an abundance of grass. Distance to-day nineteen miles.

October 10. We continued in the valley about ten miles, the road leading through wood. Larch and spruce, and inexhaustible supplies of limestone and marble, were met with, and the latter we afterwards found in large quantities all through the mountains. At this point the trail forks, one keeping to the right along the stream, and the other turning to the left, and passing over a high, overhanging mountain spur. Our guide, Antoine, informed us that the mountain trail was more easy for the animals, the one to the right being much obstructed by fallen timber. After commencing the ascent we heard the voices of our men driving the animals in the valley beneath us, and waited until we had turned them upon the trail we had concluded to take. We ascended the dividing ridge, and reached a camp with good grass upon a small lake, within a mile of its top. The lake, to which we were obliged to descend for water, is twelve hundred feet below the camp.

CŒUR D'ALENE OR STEVENS PASS.

October 11. The pass beneath us was made by two rivers flowing from the dividing ridge in opposite directions, having their sources in lakes not more than half a mile apart; the general direction of the valleys being east and west. We estimated our camp to be two thousand feet above the eastern base of the mountain, and two thousand five hundred feet above the western base. The lake upon the eastern side was about twelve hundred feet below us, and that upon the western side about seven hundred feet higher. After pitching camp last night a drizzling rain commenced falling, which we supposed would turn into snow before morning. Upon awakening this morning we were surprised to be greeted with one of the loveliest days imaginable. The sky was clear, and the air as soft and balmy as a morn in summer. After striking camp we ascended to the highest point of the ridge, about a mile and a half from camp. Here we made a long halt, enjoying the magnificent view spread open to us, which, I venture to say, can scarcely be surpassed in any country. Far distant in the east the peaks of the Rocky Mountains loomed up into view, stretched out to a great length, while the Flathead Lake and the valley thence to the Blackfoot Pass were plainly visible. Nearly the entire range of the Cœur d'Alene Mountains, clothed with evergreen forests, with here and there an open summit covered with grass; numerous valleys intersecting the country for miles around; courses of many streams marked by the ascending fog, — all conduced to render the view fascinating in the greatest degree to the beholder. The mountains were covered with luxuriant, coarse grass. Seated on this point, Mr. Stanley was enabled to transfer this beautiful panorama to his sketch-book. Descending the peak to the general level of the ridge, we continued on for six miles, when the descent commenced, and in less than three miles we passed down a very steep descent and gained the base of the mountains, which we estimated rose thirty-five hundred feet above us. This brought us into a valley filled with gigantic cedars. The larch, spruce, and vine-maple were found in to-day's march in large quantities, the latter giving a pleasing variety to the forest growth. About four o'clock we encamped upon the bank of a stream, which here grows much wider. A Cœur d'Alene accompanied us to this point from the eastern base of the dividing ridge, and at to-night's encampment we found a Cœur d'Alene and his wife on their way to hunt.

October 12. The scarcity of grass last night caused our animals to wander, and three of them were found at the base of the mountains six miles back. It was not until half past ten o'clock that our men had them all collected, and we were prepared to move. We rode until half past three, when we halted at a beautiful camp, although the day's march had been but twelve miles. Learning from Antoine that the Cœur d'Alene Mission was only eleven miles beyond, I determined on going in to-night. Antoine and I accordingly mounted, and rode to the Mission in an hour and three quarters.

CŒUR D'ALENE MISSION.

The Mission is beautifully located upon a hill overlooking extensive prairies stretching to the east and west towards the Cœur d'Alene Mountains and the Columbia River. About a hundred acres of the eastern prairie adjoining the Mission are inclosed and under cultivation, furnishing employment to thirty or forty Indians, men, women, and children. I observed two ploughing, which they executed skillfully; others were sowing wheat, and others digging potatoes. Père Gazzoli received me with the most pleasing hospitality. Associated with him are Père Ravalli, now absent to procure supplies, and Brothers

Charles Huet and Maginn. Towards evening I witnessed the burial of an Indian chief. The funeral ceremonies were conducted after the Catholic form, and I was struck with the harmonious voices of the Indian choristers, and with their solemn observance of the ceremonies.

The Mission is composed of buildings inclosing a square. Some of them are quite old, but the barn is large and new. The church stands a little distance from the rest, and does much credit to those who erected it. It is constructed upon a plan designed by Père Ravalli, and is of the Roman demi-style of architecture. Pulleys and ropes were the only mechanical aids in the construction. The interior is prettily arranged. The altar is supported by two massive timbers of pine which are four feet in diameter. The priests live in a self-denying manner, and the good effect of their influence over the Indians around them is plainly manifest. There is quite a village of Indians near the Mission. They have some half dozen log-houses, but most of them live in lodges.

October 13. While awaiting the arrival of the train, I was enabled more particularly to observe the manner in which the affairs of the Mission are conducted. Brother Charles has charge of the buildings, and attends to the indoor work, cooks, makes butter and cheese, issues provisions, and pays the Indians for their work, which payment is made in tickets bearing a certain value, "good for so many potatoes, or so much wheat," etc. By this arrangement the Indians are able to procure their subsistence in the summer by hunting and fishing, and have tickets in store for living during the winter. They are well contented, and I was pleased to observe habits of industry growing upon them. In the barn we saw their operations of threshing: four boys rode as many mules abreast in a circle, being followed by two girls with flails, who appeared to be perfectly at home in their business. One half of the barn is reserved for their crops, while the other is arranged for cattle. Their stock at present consists of twenty cows, eight pairs of oxen, and ninety pigs, which are driven to pasture upon the prairie by Indian boys daily. I noticed an Indian woman milking, and was surprised to see her use both hands, something rarely seen amongst the Indians. We afterwards visited the field; a large fire was burning, and around it sat Indians roasting and eating potatoes. There appeared to be a great scarcity of proper implements, and in digging potatoes many had nothing better than sharpened sticks. The train arrived about one o'clock, and Père Gazzoli allowed us to turn our animals into the inclosure.

I have heard of an ingenious method of hunting deer which is practiced by the Indians. When the Cœur d'Alenes, Pend Oreilles, Spokanes, and Nez Perces meet together to fish and hunt, they form a large circle, and upon the trees, around its circumference, attach pieces of cloth made to resemble the human figure as much as possible. Then the hunters enter the area and start up the deer. Each cloth having the effect of a man, the deer, being afraid to pass them, are kept within the circle and easily killed. Last year the Pend Oreilles killed eight hundred in one hunt; the Cœur d'Alenes, more than four hundred.

When the Indians returned from the field I addressed them as follows: —

"I am glad to see you and find that you are under such good direction. I have come four times as far as you go to hunt buffalo, and have come with directions from the Great Father to see you, to talk to you, and do all I can for your welfare. I see cultivated fields, a church, houses, cattle, and the fruits of the earth, the work of your own hands. The Great Father will be delighted to hear this, and will certainly assist you. Go on, and every family will have a house and a patch of ground, and every one will be well clothed. I have had talks with the Blackfeet, who promise to make peace with all the Indian tribes. Listen to the good Father and to the good brothers, who labor for your good."

October 15. We started at eight o'clock, after having given Brother Charles as many lariats for raising the timbers of the church as we could spare, and made eighteen miles and a quarter, meeting on the way some forty Indians, Cœur d'Alenes, Nez Perces, and Spokanes, on their way to buffalo. We camped to-day in a beautiful prairie, called the Wolf's Lodge, with good grass. Here we found nearly a hundred Spokanes, with some three hundred horses, on their way to the hunt. Towards sundown this evening I was greatly interested in observing the Spokanes at their devotions. A bell rang, and the whole band gathered in and around a large lodge for evening prayers. There was something solemn and pathetic in the evening psalm resounding through the forests around us. This shows what good results can flow from the labors of devoted missionaries, for the Spokanes have had no religious instruction for the last five years. As I went down the river and met band after band of the Spokanes, I invariably found the same regard for religious services.

Afterwards they came around to my camp-fire, and we had a talk. Garry, they say, is at his farm, four miles from the Spokane House.

October 16. We started at eight o'clock, our route being through an open wooded prairie. Soon after leaving camp the Cœur d'Alene Lake came in view to the south of us, and eleven miles from camp we struck it near its western extremity. It is a beautiful sheet of water, surrounded by picturesque hills, mostly covered with wood. Its shape is irregular, unlike that given it upon the maps. Its waters are received from the Coeur d'Alene River, which runs through it. Below the lake the river is not easily navigable, there being many rapids, and in numerous places it widens greatly, and runs sluggishly through a shallow channel. Above the lake I am informed by the missionaries that it is navigable nearly to the Mission. Leaving the lake, we followed the river on its northern bank, passing a camp of Cœur d'Alenes, occupied with their trout fisheries. Here we witnessed a touching sight, a daughter administering to her dying father. Still keeping through open woods on a most excellent road, in two miles farther we came to the Cœur d'Alene prairie, a beautiful tract of land containing several hundred square miles. After crossing the prairie, a distance of some eighteen miles, we continued on and encamped at a spring with sparse grass. Had we gone two miles farther, we should have found an excellent camp on the river, and the next morning some of our animals were found in this very spot. The horses of the Spokanes roam over this prairie in herds of from twelve to twenty. Towards the latter portion of the march the river runs over a rocky bed of trap.

October 17. Leaving camp, Antoine, Osgood, Stanley, and myself turned from the trail to visit the falls of the Cœur d'Alene River, while Lavatte took the train ahead on the trail to the Spokane House. There are two principal falls, one of twenty feet and the other of from ten to twelve feet, in the latter there being a perpendicular fall of seven or eight feet; for a quarter of a mile the descent is rapid, over a rough bed of rocks, and in this distance we estimated a fall of ninety or one hundred feet. One mile below this point we came to the ferry crossed by Saxton. Here there is a small Indian village, and the inhabitants were engaged in catching salmon. I noticed one large woman who seemed to pride herself upon her person, which she took pains to set off in the most becoming manner by means of a blanket wrapped around her. The road to the Spokane House was over a sandy prairie, interspersed with groves of pine. Crossing a dividing ridge with high and steep banks, we came into the prairie in which the Spokane House is situated, in which were two Spokane villages. We inquired for Garry, and I sent him a request that he would visit me at my camp. The train we found a mile below the junction, across the Spokane. The Indians indicating a good camp some distance beyond, we moved on eight and a half miles to it, which we reached half an hour before sundown. Here there was good grass and plenty of water, and we soon made up a large campfire. After arranging matters in camp, I observed about nightfall a fire down the river, and, strolling down to the place, came upon a little camp of Spokane Indians, and found them engaged in religious services, which I was glad of an opportunity to witness. There were three or four men, the same number of women, and half a dozen children. Their exercises were, 1, address; 2, Lord's prayer; 3, Psalms; 4, benediction, and were conducted with great solemnity.

In the evening Garry visited us with some of his tribe. They gave rumors of a large party having arrived opposite Colville, also of a small party having gone from Walla Walla to Colville.

Garry was educated by the Hudson Bay Company at Red River, where he lived four years with six other Indians from this vicinity, all of whom are now dead. He speaks English and French well, and we have had a long conversation this evening; but he is not frank, and I do not understand him. He has an extensive field, where he raises a large quantity of wheat. To-morrow he is going to Colville to get some of it ground. Garry promises to send me to-morrow the Indian who has just arrived from the Yakima country, and who is posted up concerning the news of that place.

October 18. A Spokane breakfasted with us this morning, and we started at 8.30 o'clock. After riding till ten o'clock we were joined by the old Indian referred to yesterday, and Antoine's services were immediately put into requisition to obtain information. At twelve o'clock we lunched. The old man stated that a large party reached the bank of the river opposite Colville yesterday, and that they would cross to-day. I was satisfied from his accounts that the party was McClellan's, and accordingly determined on going to Colville to-night. Antoine has horses half way. We rested until two o'clock and then set out, Antoine and myself pushing ahead of the train. We met Antoine's family encamped on a fine prairie, with whom Antoine remained, sending his brother-in-law with us as a guide. At 4.15 we reached the ferry, where we were detained fifteen minutes. At 4.45 we met Jack (Lieutenant Macfeely's guide), who informed me that Macfeely reached Walla Walla three weeks ago, being twenty-two days coming from St. Mary's. He lost twenty animals, and was detained two days in an unsuccessful search for a man who had strayed from the trail. The road was bad, and they got off the trail, having struck too high up. Jack told us it was twenty-eight miles to Colville, and that we could not reach there to-night, but, being determined to do so, we pushed on and reached Brown's at 5.45, who informed us that the distance to Colville was eighteen miles. After partaking of some bread and milk, we resumed the road with the same animals, dashing off at full speed, going eight or nine miles an hour most of the way, and reached Colville at nine o'clock. Mr. McDonald, the trader in charge, gave me a most hospitable reception, and addressed a note to McClellan, who had just gone to his camp near by, informing him of my arrival. McClellan came up immediately, and, though I was fairly worn out with the severeness of the ride, we sat up till one o'clock.

At eleven we sat down to a nice supper, prepared by Mrs. McDonald, and regaled ourselves with steaks cooked in buffalo fat, giving them the flavor of buffalo meat. I retired exhausted with the fatigues of the day.

CAPTAIN McCLELLAN'S EXPLORATIONS.

It took Captain McClellan a month to fit out his train after he reached Vancouver, on the lower Columbia, so that he did not start on his survey until the last of July. Crossing the Cascade Range by a pass south of Mount Adams, he proceeded northward over the plains on the eastern side of the range to the Yakima valley, moving one hundred and eighty miles in thirty days, and remained there a month longer, during which Mr. Gibbs examined the lower and Lieutenant Duncan the upper valley. Captain McClellan himself, leaving his party in camp, made a hasty examination of the Snoqualmie Pass, at the head of the main Yakima. Then he crossed over a dividing ridge to the Columbia River, and continued up its right or western bank to the Okinakane (Okanogan) River, a distance of ninety miles, spent several days in exploring that and neighboring streams, then ascended the Okinakane (Okanogan) River some fifty miles to Lake Osoyoos, and moved eastward from this point eighty-two miles to the Columbia, opposite Colville, and crossed on the 18th, the very day of Governor Stevens's arrival at the same point.

McClellan, as appears from his report, took a decidedly unfavorable view of the country, and of a railroad route across the Cascades. He declared in substance that the Columbia River Pass was the only one worth considering, that there was no pass whatever north of it except the Snoqualmie Pass, and gave it as his firm and settled opinion that the snow in winter was from twenty to twenty-five feet deep in that pass.

His examination of the pass was a very hasty and cursory one, with no other instruments than a compass and a barometer, and extended only three miles across the summit. His only information as to the depth of winter snow was the reports of Indians, and the marks of snow on the trees, or what he took to be such. Thus the most important point, the real problem of the field of exploration intrusted to him, namely, the existence and character of the Cascade passes, he failed to determine. He failed utterly to respond to Governor Stevens's earnest and manly exhortation, "We must not be frightened with long tunnels, or enormous snows, but set ourselves to work to overcome them." He manifested the same dilatoriness in preparation and moving, the same timidity in action, the same magnifying of difficulties, that later marked and ruined his career as an army commander.

Two railroads now cross the range which he examined, — the Northern Pacific, by a pass just south of the Snoqualmie and north of the Nahchess, the very place of which McClellan reported that "there certainly is none between this (the Snoqualmie) and the Nahchess Pass;" and the Great Northern, by a pass at the head of the Wenachee or Pisquouse River, of which stream he declared, "It appears certain that there can be no pass at its head for a road." The snows he so much exaggerated have proved no obstacle, and in fact have actually caused less trouble and obstruction in these passes than in the Columbia Pass itself.[1]

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[1] One of the lines of the Northern Pacific Railroad now crosses the Cœur d'Alene Pass on Governor Stevens's route, to the vicinity of the Mission, running thence south of the Cœur d'Alene Lake to Spokane.

CHAPTER XXI

UPPER COLUMBIA TO PUGET SOUND

Upon learning the results of McClellan's explorations, Governor Stevens proposed to send him up the Yakima again to carry the survey clear across the Cascades to Puget Sound, and at first that officer seemed willing to undertake the duty. After spending two days at Colville the governor, accompanied by McClellan and his party, moved south in three marches to a camp six miles south of the Spokane River, named Camp Washington, where on October 28 arrived Lieutenant Donelson with the main party. During these days there was a fall of snow covering the ground, which, however, soon melted and disappeared. But it was enough to dismay McClellan. He now demurred to crossing the Cascades, claiming it to be impracticable so late in the fall. It was indeed late; snow had already fallen on the plains, and presumably would be deeper in the mountains; and the Cascades were McClellan's own particular field, of which he ought to be the best judge. The governor therefore reluctantly, and rather against his better judgment, relinquished the plan of crossing the Snoqualmie Pass that fall, and gave orders for both parties to move by way of Walla Walla and the Dalles to Vancouver, and thence to Olympia, at the head of Puget Sound.

"Had I possessed at Camp Washington," says the governor, "information which I gained in six days afterwards at Walla Walla, I should have pushed the party over the Cascades in the present condition of the animals; but Captain McClellan was entitled to weight in his judgment of the route, it being upon the special field of his examination."

The incidents of the march to Camp Washington are thus narrated: —

During our stay at Colville, we visited McDonald's camp. Near it there is a mission, under the charge of Père Lewis, whom we visited. The Indians about the mission are well disposed and religious. As we returned to the fort, Mr. Stanley was just going into camp, having made a march of thirty-five miles. In the evening we listened to the thrilling stories and exciting legends of McDonald, with which his memory seems to be well stored. He says intelligence had reached him through the Blackfeet of the coming of my party; that the Blackfeet gave most singular accounts of everything connected with us. For instance, they said that our horses had claws like the grizzly bear; they climbed up the steep rocks and held on by their claws; that their necks were like the new moon; and that their neighing was like the sound of distant thunder. McDonald has, of course, given a free translation of the reports made by Indians. We listened to his accounts of his own thrilling adventures of his mountain life, and a description of an encounter with a party of Blackfeet is well worth relating. At the head of a party of three or four men he was met by a band of these Indians, who showed evidences of hostility. By signs he requested the chief of the Blackfeet to advance and meet him, both being unarmed. When the chief assented, and met him half way between the two parties, McDonald caught him by the hair of the head, and, holding him firmly, exacted from the remaining Indians promises to give up their arms, which they accordingly did, and passed on peaceably. He has lived here many years, and is an upright, intelligent, manly, and energetic man.

October 21. We moved off. McDonald presented us with a keg filled with cognac to cheer the hearts of the members of all the parties, and obliged us also to take a supply of port wine. We passed his gristmill on Mill River, the only one in the neighborhood. A march of twelve miles brought us into camp, McDonald accompanying us. We had a glorious supper of smoking steaks and hot cakes, and the stories added to the relish with which it was eaten. McDonald again charmed us with a recital of his thrilling adventures.

October 22. We got off early, and at Brown's we stopped to purchase horses, and succeeded in obtaining two, one for McClellan and the other for myself. McDonald accompanied me some distance farther, when, bidding each other adieu, I pushed ahead, and, reaching a small stream, I found that McClellan's party had taken the left bank, and that the captain had gone on to join them. We took the right, and thus avoided a bad crossing in which McClellan's party became involved. We encamped upon the borders of the stream. Our train is larger and more heavily laden than heretofore, in consequence of the increased supplies. To-day we have thirteen packs. At night we killed a cow purchased of Brown, and we still have an ox in reserve, to be killed when we meet Donelson. The air is cool and fresh, and our appetites keen. I may say here that two pounds of beef and half a pound of flour per man are not too much for a day's allowance.

October 23. Snow is falling this morning, and it has cleaned our beef admirably. We journeyed but ten miles, encamping near where we had seen Antoine's family in going to Colville. The snow ceased falling about noon, with five inches upon the ground. It is light, and we think it will disappear in a few days. The Indians inform me that we shall not probably find it south of the Cœur d'Alene, and from their statements it would seem that this river is a dividing line as regards climate.

October 24. We started this morning with the intention of reaching the appointed place of meeting to-night. McClellan, Minter, Osgood, Stanley, and myself pushed ahead, and at noon we reached the old Chemakane Mission, so called from a spring of that name near by. The mission was occupied by Messrs. Walker and Eells, but in 1849, in consequence of the Cuyuse difficulties, it was abandoned. These gentlemen labored ardently for the good of the Indians. Walker was a good farmer and taught them agriculture, and by them his name is now mentioned with great respect. The house occupied by Walker is still standing, but Eells's has been burned down. The site of the mission is five miles from the Spokane River, in an extensive open valley, well watered and very rich. Here we met Garry and two hundred Spokanes. Garry has forwarded the letter to Donelson, but has received no intelligence of his arrival in the Cœur d'Alene plain. We therefore concluded to encamp here, and to-morrow McClellan and myself are to accompany Garry to the Spokane House. The Colville or Slawntehus and Chemakane valleys have a productive soil, and are from one to three miles wide, and bordered by low hills, covered with larch, pine, and spruce, and having also a productive soil. In the evening the Indians clustered around our fire, and manifested much pleasure in our treatment of them. I have now seen a great deal of Garry, and am much pleased with him. Beneath a quiet exterior he shows himself to be a man of judgment, forecast, and great reliability, and I could see in my interview with his band the ascendency he possesses over them.

In the Colville valley there is a line of settlements twenty-eight miles long. The settlers are persons formerly connected with the Hudson Bay Company, and they are anxious to become naturalized, and have the lands they now occupy transferred to themselves. I informed them that I could only express my hopes that their case would be met by the passage of a special act. They are extensive farmers, and raise a great deal of wheat.

October 25. Having left the necessary directions for moving camp to the place of meeting with Donelson, Captain McClellan and myself accompanied Garry to the Spokane House. The road was slippery in consequence of the melting of the snow, and we were obliged frequently to dismount. We found Garry's family in a comfortable lodge, and he informed us that he always had on hand flour, sugar, and coffee, with which to make his friends comfortable. We then went to our new camp south of the Spokane, which had been established whilst we were visiting Garry's place. From the Chemakane Mission the train left the river, and, passing through a rolling country covered with open pine woods, in five miles reached the Spokane, and crossing it by a good and winding ford, ascended the plain, and in six miles, the first two of which was through open pine, reached Camp Washington.

October 26, 27, 28, and 29. During these days I was occupied at our camp (Camp Washington) in making the arrangements for moving westward. Lieutenant Donelson arrived on the 28th, and we all sat down to a fine supper prepared for the occasion. All the members of the exploration were in fine spirits; our table was spread under a canopy, and upon it a great variety of dishes appeared, roasted beef, bouillon, steaks, and abundance of hot bread, coffee, sugar, and our friend McDonald's good cheer. But the best dish was a beef's head cooked by friend Minter in Texas fashion. It was placed in a hole in the ground on a layer of hot coals, with moss and leaves around it to protect it from the dirt, and then covered up. There it remained for some five or six hours, when, removing it, the skin came off without difficulty, and it presented a very tempting dish, and was enjoyed by every member of the party.

Having given the necessary instructions to McClellan and Donelson to proceed with their parties to the Walla Walla, thence to the Dalles, Vancouver, and Olympia, making careful survey of the country on the route, the governor, with his small party, pushed on ahead, having Garry and his brother as guides. Starting late in the afternoon of the 29th, they journeyed thirteen miles over undulating hills and a high table-land, and encamped upon a small stream called Se-cule-eel-qua, with fine grass and fertile soil.

October 30. We commenced to move at sunrise, and at three P. M. encamped on a small lake twenty-two miles from our place of departure in the morning. In view of this camp were the graves of a number of Spokane Indians, indicated by mounds of stones, designed to protect the bodies from the wolves, and by poles supported in an upright position by the stones. It was the usage until within a few years past, for the Spokanes and other northern tribes towards the Pacific to slay the horses and cattle of the deceased at his grave, and also to sacrifice his other property, but they are gradually relinquishing this pernicious practice, under the influence of the counsels and example of the white man.

October 31. We continued to follow the general course of the stream upon whose banks we were encamped, and after riding eight miles we crossed another small stream, rising in a chain of small lakes south of our last camp. These lakes abound in wild fowl, which at this season are very plentiful, and they are therefore much resorted to by the Spokanes and other Indians. We saw in one of these lakes, surrounded by ducks and geese, a pair of white swans, which remained to challenge our admiration after their companions had been frightened away by our approach.

Garry assures us that there is a remarkable lake called En-chush-chesh-she-luxum, or Never Freezing Water, about thirty miles to the east of this place. It is much larger than any of the lakes just mentioned, and so completely surrounded by high and precipitous rocks that it is impossible to descend to the water. It is said never to freeze, even in the most severe winter. The Indians believe that it is inhabited by buffalo, elk, deer, and all other kinds of game, which, they say, may be seen in the clear, transparent element. He also narrates the story of a superstition respecting a point of painted rock in Pend Oreille Lake, situated near the place now occupied by Michal Ogden. The Indians, he says, do not venture to pass this point, fearing that the Great Spirit may, as related in the legends, create a commotion in the water and cause them to be swallowed up in the waves. The painted rocks are very high, and bear effigies of men and beasts and other characters, made, as the Indians believe, by a race of men who preceded them as inhabitants of the land.

Our route to-day has been through a rocky and broken country, and after a march of thirty-two miles we encamped on a small stream called En-cha-rae-nae, flowing from the lake where we last halted, near a number of natural mounds.

November 1. Our course lay down the valley of the En-cha-rae-nae, a rugged way, beset with deep clefts in the volcanic rocks. We crossed the Pelouse River near the mouth of the former, and near the stream flowing from the never freezing lake, and twelve miles from the mouth of the Pelouse. Four miles from our place of crossing the Pelouse runs through a deep cañon, surrounded by isolated volcanic buttes, to its junction with Snake River. At two P. M. we arrived at the mouth of the Pelouse, and, crossing Snake River, we encamped on its southern bank, several Pelouse Indians accompanying us, and among them a chief from a band but a few miles distant from our camp, Wi-ti-my-hoy-she. He exhibited a medal of Thomas Jefferson, dated 1801, given to his grandfather, as he alleges, by Lewis and Clark.

November 2. I have referred in an early stage of this narrative to the condition of my health, and will state that not a day was I on the road from Fort Benton to this point that I did not suffer much. The day I made my long ride to Colville, I was so feeble and exhausted that, on making my noon halt after moving fifteen miles, I was obliged to have my bed spread in order to rest; but the idea of meeting gentlemen so soon, from whom I had been so long separated, enabled me to bear the fatigue of my afternoon fifty miles' ride to Colville. Although in great suffering, I determined to move with Garry from Snake River to Fort Walla Walla to-day, leaving Mr. Stanley to come on with my party and train in two days. I desired to save a day in order to collect information at Walla Walla, and to visit the Walla Walla valley. Accordingly we set off. It required me three hours to get my courage up to the sticking-point, so that I could bear the pain growing out of traveling at a gait faster than a walk; but, getting warm in the saddle, we increased our speed, and on reaching the Touchet we dismounted for a slight halt. Pushing on a little before two o'clock, we reached Fort Walla Walla at sundown, moving the last twenty-five miles at the rate of about eight miles an hour, and were there hospitably received by Mr. Pembrum, the factor in charge, and after a little conversation I refreshed myself with reading some late papers. On the road my time was much occupied with studying the deportment of the mountain ranges in view, and all the peculiarities of the country about me, to judge something of its winter climate and the probable fall of snow; and on reaching Walla Walla I became satisfied from these things, and especially from a view of the highest spur of the Blue Mountains in sight, that the snows of the Cascades could not be so formidable as they had been represented. I accordingly determined to search thoroughly into this matter at Walla Walla.

November 3–8. I remained in the Walla Walla country during these days, spending two days up the valley and the remainder at the fort. Mr. Stanley, with the train, reached the fort on the 3d, and,

November 4, we started upon the trip through the valley, riding upon our horses. Arriving at the Hudson Bay farm, we exchanged them for fresh ones. This farm is eighteen miles from Walla Walla, and is a fine tract of land, well adapted to grazing or cultivation. It is naturally bounded by streams, and is equivalent to a mile square. There is the richest grass here that we have seen since leaving St. Mary's. From this we went to McBane's house, a retired factor of the company, from whence we had a fine view of the southern portion of the valley, which is watered by many tributaries from the Blue Mountains. Thirty miles from Walla Walla, and near McBane's, lives Father Chirouse, a missionary of the Catholic order, who with two laymen exercises his influence among the surrounding tribes.

November 5. We remained with Mr. McBane overnight, and returned to the fort to-day by way of the Whitman Mission, now occupied by Bumford and Brooke. They were harvesting, and I saw as fine potatoes as ever I beheld, many weighing two pounds, and one five and a half. Their carrots and beets, too, were of extraordinary size. Mr. Whitman must have done a great deal of good for the Indians. His mission was situated upon a fine tract of land, and he had erected a saw and grist mill. From Bumford's to the mouth of the Touchet are many farms, mostly occupied by the retired employees of the Hudson Bay Company. On our return we met Pu-pu-mox-mox, the Walla Walla chief, known and respected far and wide. He possesses not so much intelligence and energy as Garry, but he has some gifts of which the latter is deprived. He is of dignified manner, and well qualified to manage men. He owns over two thousand horses, besides many cattle, and has a farm near that of the Hudson Bay Company. On the occurrence of the Cuyuse war, he was invited to join them, but steadily refused. After their destruction of the mission, he was asked to share the spoils, and again refused. They then taunted him with being afraid of the whites, to which he replied: "I am not afraid of the whites, nor am I afraid of the Cuyuses. I defy your whole band. I will plant my three lodges on the border of my own territory at the mouth of the Touchet, and there I will meet you if you dare to attack me." He accordingly moved his lodges to this point, and remained there three or four weeks. Stanley was on his way from Walker and Eells's Mission to Whitman's Mission, and indeed was actually within three miles of the latter, when he heard of the terrible tragedy which had been enacted there, and the information was brought to him by an Indian of Pu-pu-mox-mox's band. Pu-pu-mox-mox has saved up a large amount of money (probably as much as $5000); still he is generous, and frequently gives an ox and other articles of value to the neighbors. Some of his people having made a contract to ferry the emigrants across the river, who crossed the Cascades this year, and then having refused to execute it, he compelled them to carry it out faithfully, and, mounting his horse, he thrashed them until they complied. He has the air of a substantial farmer.

On the 6th Lieutenant Donelson and on the 7th Captain McClellan reached old Fort Walla Walla with the main parties. Governor Stevens was now satisfied, both from his own observations and from information furnished by Pembrum, Pu-pu-mox-mox, and others, among them a voyageur who had actually crossed the Cascades in the month of December, that it was not yet too late to send a party across these mountains. Accordingly he directed Mr. Lander to proceed up the Yakima and over the Nahchess Pass in order to run the line to the Sound.

The governor had a remarkable faculty for getting information from people of every kind and condition, Hudson Bay Company men, settlers, voyageurs, and Indians, and always took great pains to learn all they could impart, while his keen and sound judgment enabled him to distinguish the chaff from the wheat in their reports.

Having provided fresh animals for Mr. Lander, given him his written instructions, and in conversation urged upon him the entire feasibility of the survey intrusted to him, the governor, with Mr. Stanley, on November 8 started down the Columbia in a canoe managed by voyageurs, and reached the Dalles on the 12th. Says the governor: —

"We took with us two days' provisions, and were four days in reaching the Dalles, having been detained nearly two days in camp by a high wind which blew up the river, but we eked out our scanty stores by the salmon generously furnished us by the Indian bands near us. At the principal rapids I got out and observed the movements of the canoe through them, and, from the best examination which I was able to make, I became at once convinced that the river was probably navigable for steamers. I remained at the Dalles on the 13th to make arrangements for the moving forward of the parties and for herding the animals, looking to a resumption of the survey, where I was the guest of Major Rains, and had a most pleasant time, meeting old acquaintances and making new ones with the gentlemen of the post. On the 14th I reached the Cascades, where I passed the night. Here I met several gentlemen — men who had crossed the plains, and who had made farms in several States and in Oregon or Washington — who had carefully examined the Yakima country for new locations, and who impressed me with the importance of it as an agricultural and grazing country. November 15 we went down the river in a canoe, and on the 16th reached Vancouver, where I remained the 17th, 18th, and 19th as the guest of Colonel Bonneville, and where I also became acquainted with the officers of the Hudson Bay Company.

"Leaving Vancouver on the 20th, I reached Olympia on the 25th, where for the first time I saw the waters of Puget Sound. No special incident worthy of remark occurred on the journey, except that I was four days going up the Cowlitz in drenching rains, and two nights had the pleasure of camping out. I will now advise voyageurs in the interior, when they get suddenly into the rains west of the Cascades, to take off their buckskin underclothing. I neglected to do this, and among the many agreeabilities of this trip up the Cowlitz was to have the underclothing of buckskin wet entirely through. I was enabled to examine the country pretty carefully all the way to Olympia, and had with me a very intelligent man, who could point out localities and inform me about the country not in view of the road; and I saw that not only was it entirely practicable for a railroad line to the Sound, but that the work was light, and the material for construction of all kinds entirely inexhaustible.

"After considerable delays at Vancouver, the gentlemen of the parties under Captain McClellan and Lieutenant Donelson arrived at Olympia for office duty, being preceded a few days by Mr. Lander, who for reasons not conclusive to my mind did not persevere in the examination of the Nahchess Pass. One of his reasons for not continuing his examination was that it was not on the railroad line, which did not apply, because that fact was well known to him previously, having been announced to him positively in my written instructions. I did not censure Mr. Lander for not continuing on this duty, as I know the perplexity of mind in which one is placed by the contradictory character of the information gained; but I resolved to get my line to the Sound, and accordingly dispatched an express to the Walla Walla, directing Mr. Tinkham on his arrival at that point to cross to Puget Sound by the Snoqualmie Pass, my object being twofold, — to get at some facts which would decisively settle the question of the depth of snow, in regard to which Captain McClellan and myself differed, as well as really to connect our work with the Sound itself."

Thus Lander purposely balked the task intrusted to him, and threw away another fine opportunity of achieving credit for himself.

Upon McClellan's arrival at Olympia, Governor Stevens directed him to take up from the Sound the reconnoissance for a railroad line to the Snoqualmie Pass, connecting with his examination on the eastern side, which had extended three miles across the summit. But again McClellan failed to accomplish the task, deterred as usual by the reports of Indians, and magnified difficulties. Leaving Olympia December 23, with Mr. Minter, civil engineer, and four men, he spent five days at Steilacoom in a vain attempt to procure horses and guides for the

Snoqualmie Falls, intending to proceed thence on snowshoes. Then he went by canoe down the Sound and up the Snohomish River to the falls, and pushed forward on foot four miles to the prairie just above the falls.

> "I found," he reports, "the prairie to be about as represented,— in places bare, but in others with three or four inches of snow. Leaving my companions at the Indian bivouac to make the best preparations they could for passing the night (for we had neither tent, blanket, nor overcoat), I went forward on the trail with two Indians.
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> "As soon as we left the prairie the ground became entirely covered with snow; it soon became a foot deep in the shallowest spots, and was constantly increasing. All signs of a trail were obliterated,— the underbrush very thick and loaded with snow, — the snow unfit for snowshoes, according to the Indians. I now turned back to our bivouac, and there awaited the arrival of an Indian who was out hunting, and who was said to possess much information about the country. He soon arrived, and proved to be a very intelligent Yakima, whom I had seen on the other side of the mountains in the summer. He had been hunting in the direction I wished to go, and stated that the snow soon increased to 'waist-deep' long before reaching the Nooksai-Nooksai, and that it was positively impracticable to use snowshoes. He also said that the Indians did not pretend to cross over the mountains at this season, but waited till about the end of March, and then took their horses over.
>
> "Next morning, after again questioning the Indian, I reluctantly determined to return, being forced to the conclusion that, if the attempt to reach the pass was not wholly impracticable, it was at least inexpedient under all the circumstances in which I was placed." [1]

Could any man but McClellan have seriously asserted that "it was positively impracticable to use snowshoes" on snow, and that, too, on the authority of Indians, who were notoriously unreliable, and who, in their jealousy of white exploration, habitually exaggerated the difficulties of the country? This seems the very acme of imaginary obstacles. It was January 10 that McClellan turned back. Had he manfully taken to his snowshoes, he could have reached the summit in three or four days, and connected with his reconnoissance on the eastern side, and this was soon demonstrated to his deep disgust.

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[1] Pacific R. R. Reports, vol. i. pp. 622–624.

Far different was the action and spirit of Tinkham. He had just arrived at Walla Walla from a remarkable and arduous trip, during which he crossed the Rocky Mountains by the Marias Pass, proceeded to Fort Benton, recrossed the mountains by a more southern pass to the Bitter Root valley, and thence crossed the Bitter Root Range on snowshoes by the rugged southern Nez Perces trail, when he received Governor Stevens's instructions to push to the Sound by way of the Snoqualmie Pass. Starting from Walla Walla on January 7 with two Indians, he proceeded up the Yakima to its head on horseback, and there leaving his animals, he crossed the mountains on snowshoes, and reached Seattle on January 26, seven days after leaving the eastern base of the divide, and twenty days from Walla Walla. He carefully measured the depth of snow and reported: —

> "From Lake Kitchelus to the summit, some five miles, and where occurs the deepest snow, the average measurement was about six feet, but frequently running as high as seven feet. Passing on to the west side of the Cascades, the snow rapidly disappears; fourteen miles from the summit there was but eight inches of snow, and thence it gradually faded away as approach was made to the shores of the Sound: for only a few miles was the snow six feet deep; the whole breadth over twelve inches deep was somewhat less than sixty miles in extent."

Thus Tinkham actually crossed the range and reached the Sound, making the very trip that McClellan pronounced "impracticable" and would not even try, only ten days after the latter's failure.

But McClellan's pride was hurt by this incident. He took Governor Stevens's opinion as to the snow question, and his action in sending Tinkham across the pass, in high dudgeon as a reflection on himself, and, regardless of the true friendship shown him and benefits conferred upon him by the governor, treated him with marked coldness. In his usual generous and magnanimous way, Governor Stevens took no notice of this changed attitude of McClellan, but gave him all possible credit in his reports. Some years afterwards, when Governor Stevens was in Congress, their mutual friend, Captain J. G. Foster, came to him, and said that McClellan wished to meet him again and renew their old friendship. Accordingly they met at Willard's, and McClellan appeared as cordial and agreeable as of old.

Captain McClellan had been instructed, after completing his reconnoissance of the Snoqualmie Pass, to examine the harbors on the eastern shore of the Sound as far as Bellingham Bay. But he gave up this duty also, after proceeding a single day's trip in canoes about twenty miles north of the mouth of the Snohomish River to the northern extremity of McDonough or Camano Island, where he encamped for the night, alleging as usual the inclemency of the weather: "During that night six inches of snow fell and a violent gale arose, so that on the next day we were unable to proceed. On the next day (14th), the wind still continuing dead ahead and very violent, I turned back," etc.

Yet at this very time Governor Stevens was making a complete tour of the Sound in a small open sailboat, regardless of wind and weather.

McClellan also failed to do anything towards opening the military road across the Cascades between Steilacoom and Fort Walla Walla; and Lieutenant Richard Arnold, under the governor's general supervision, relieved him of the charge of the road, and completed it in 1854.

It will be remembered how Governor Stevens had placed this road in McClellan's hands, had furnished him with information and correspondence relating to it, and had advised him to consult with the prominent settlers in regard to the best location of it. Of these people the governor remarks in his report: —

> "They have crossed the mountains, and made the long distance from the valley of the Mississippi to their homes on the Pacific; they have done so frequently, having to cut out roads as they went, and knowing little of the difficulties before them. They are therefore men of observation, of experience, of enterprise, and men who at home had by industry and frugality secured a competency and the respect of their neighbors; for it must be known that our emigrants travel in parties, and those go together who were acquaintances at home, because they mutually confide in each other. I was struck with the high qualities of the frontier people, and soon learned how to confide in them and gather information from them."

Contrast with this McClellan's assertions in his letter to Secretary of War Davis, of September 18, 1853: —

> "But the result of my short experience in this country has been that not the slightest faith or confidence is to be placed in information derived from the employees of the Hudson Bay Company, or from the inhabitants of the Territory; in every instance, when I have acted upon information thus obtained, I have been altogether deceived and misled."

But he was ready enough to adopt the reports of Indians in support of obstacles which existed chiefly in his own imagination.

CHAPTER XXII

ORGANIZING CIVIL GOVERNMENT. — THE INDIAN SERVICE

It was indeed a wild country, untouched by civilization, and a scanty white population sparsely sprinkled over the immense area that were awaiting the arrival of Governor Stevens to organize civil government, and shape the destinies of the future. A mere handful of settlers, 3965 all told, were widely scattered over western Washington, between the lower Columbia and the Strait of Fuca. A small hamlet clustered around the military post at Vancouver. A few settlers were spread wide apart along the Columbia, among whom were Columbia Lancaster on Lewis River; Seth Catlin, Dr. Nathaniel Ostrander, and the Huntingtons about the mouth of the Cowlitz; Alexander S. Abernethy at Oak Point; and Judge William Strong at Cathlamet. Some oystermen in Shoalwater Bay were taking shellfish for the San Francisco market. At Cowlitz Landing, thirty miles up that river, were extensive prairies, where farms had been cultivated by the Hudson Bay Company, under the name of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, for fifteen years; and here were a few Americans and a number of Scotch and Canadians, former employees of that company, and now looking forward to becoming American citizens, and settling down upon their own "claims" under the Donation Act, which gave 320 acres to every settler, and as much more to his wife. A score of hardy pioneers had settled upon the scattered prairies between the Cowlitz Farms and the Sound; among them were John R. Jackson, typical English yeoman, on his prairie, ten miles from the Cowlitz; S. S. Saunders, on Saunders's Bottom, where now stands the town of Chehalis; George Washington, a colored man, on the next prairie, the site of Centralia; Judge Sidney S. Ford on his prairie on the Chehalis River, below the mouth of the Skookumchuck Creek; W. B. Goodell, B. L. Henness, and Stephen Hodgdon on Grand Mound Prairie; A. B. Rabbeson and W. W. Plumb on Mound Prairie. A number of settlers had taken up the prairies about Olympia, the principal of whom were W. O. Bush, Gabriel Jones, William Rutledge, and David Kendrick on Bush Prairie; J. N. Low, Andrew J. Chambers, Nathan Eaton, Stephen D. Ruddell, and Urban E. Hicks on Chambers's Prairie; David J. Chambers on the prairie of his name. James McAlister and William Packwood were on the Nisqually Bottom, at the mouth of the river, just north of which, on the verge of the Nisqually plains, was situated the Hudson Bay Company post, Fort Nisqually, a parallelogram of log buildings and stockade, under charge of Dr. W. F. Tolmie, a warm-hearted and true Scot. Great herds of Spanish cattle, the property of this company, roamed over the Nisqually plains, little cared for and more than half wild, and, it is to be feared, occasionally fell prey to the rifles of the hungry American emigrants. Two miles below Olympia, on the east side of the bay, was located a Catholic mission under Fathers Ricard and Blanchet, where were a large building, an orchard, and a garden. They had made a number of converts among the Indians.

Towns, each as yet little more than a "claim" and a name, but each in the hope and firm belief of its founders destined to future greatness, were just started at Steilacoom, by Lafayette Balch; at Seattle, by Dr. D. S. Maynard, H. L. Yesler, and the Dennys; at Port Townsend, by F. W. Pettygrove and L. B. Hastings;

and at Bellingham Bay, by Henry Roder and Edward Eldridge.

Save the muddy track from the Cowlitz to Olympia and thence to Steilacoom, and a few local trails, roads there were none. Communication was chiefly by water, almost wholly in canoes manned by Indians. The monthly steamer from San Francisco and a little river steamboat plying daily between Vancouver and Portland alone vexed with their keels the mighty Columbia; while it was not until the next year that reckless, harum-scarum Captain Jack Scranton ran the Major Tompkins, a small black steamer, once a week around the Sound, and had no rival. Here was this great wooded country without roads, the unrivaled waterways without steamers, the adventurous, vigorous white population without laws, numerous tribes of Indians without treaties, and the Hudson Bay Company's rights and possessions without settlement. To add to the difficulties and confusion of the situation, Congress, by the Donation Acts, held out a standing invitation to the American settlers to seize and settle upon any land, surveyed or unsurveyed, without waiting to extinguish the Indian title, or define the lands guaranteed by solemn treaty to the foreign company, and already the Indians and the Hudson Bay Company were growing daily more and more restless and indignant at the encroachments of the pushing settlers upon their choicest spots. Truly a situation fraught with difficulties and dangers, where everything was to be done and nothing yet begun.

It is a great but common mistake to suppose that the early American settlers of Washington were a set of lawless, rough, and ignorant borderers. In fact they compare favorably with the early settlers of any of the States. As a rule they were men of more than average force of character, vigorous, honest, intelligent, law-abiding, and patriotic, — men who had brought their families to carve out homes in the wilderness, and many of them men of education and of standing in their former abodes. Among them could be found the best blood of New England, the sturdy and kindly yeomanry of Virginia and Kentucky, and men from all the States of the Middle West from Ohio to Arkansas. Most of them had slowly wended their way across the great plains, overcoming every obstacle, and suffering untold privations; others had come by sea around Cape Horn, or across the Isthmus. They were all true Americans, patriotic and brave, and filled with sanguine hopes of, and firm faith in, the future growth and greatness of the new country which they had come to make blossom like the rose. Governor Stevens, as has been shown, at once appreciated the character of these people.

After the arduous and exposed journey up the Cowlitz by canoe, — where the Indian crew had to gain foot by foot against the furious current of the flooded river, oftentimes pulling the frail craft along by the overhanging bushes, — and over the muddy trail by horseback, Governor Stevens reached Olympia on November 25, 1853, just five months and nineteen days since starting from St. Paul. He found here awaiting his arrival the new territorial secretary, Charles M. Mason, brother to his old friend Colonel James Mason, of the engineers, who had just come out by the Isthmus route. Mason was of distinguished appearance and bearing, with fine dark eyes and hair, fair, frank face, and charming but unobtrusive manner. He was highly educated, gifted with unusual ability, and a noble and amiable disposition, and was beloved by all who knew him. The other territorial officers on the ground were: Edward Lander, chief justice, and Victor Monroe, associate justice; J. V. Clendenin, district attorney; J. Patten Anderson, marshal; and Simpson P. Moses, collector of customs.

CHARLES H. MASON

Secretary of Washington Territory

Among the settlers welcoming their new governor were: Edmund Sylvester, the founder of Olympia; Colonel William Cock, Shirley Ensign, D. R. Bigelow, George A. Barnes, H. A. Goldsborough, John M. Swan, C. H. Hale, Judge B. F. Yantis, Judge Gilmore Hayes, John G. Parker, Quincy A. Brooks, Dr. G. K. Willard, Colonel M. T. Simmons, Captain Clanrick Crosby, Ira Ward, James Biles, Joseph Cushman, S. W. Percival, Edwin Marsh, R. M. Walker, Levi and James Offut, J. C. Head, W. Dobbins, Isaac Hawk, Rev. G. F. Whitworth, Jared S. Hurd, H. R. Woodward, B. F. Brown, and M. Hurd.

The arrival of the governor and his party was the great event for the little town, as well as for the new Territory generally, and warm and hearty was his greeting by the pioneers. And when shortly afterwards, December 19, the governor delivered a lecture, giving a description of his exploration and an exposition of the Northern route, their hopes and expectations were raised to the highest point, and they already saw in the mind's eye the iron horse speeding across the plains and through the mighty forests, and the full-flowing tide of immigration following its advent.

Without delay the governor issued his proclamation, as empowered by the organic act marking out and establishing election districts, appointing time (January 30) and places for holding the elections, for a delegate in Congress and members of the legislature, and summoning that body to meet in Olympia on the 28th of February.

The Indian service next engaged his attention. He appointed Colonel M. T. Simmons Indian agent for the Puget Sound Indians, with B. F. Shaw and O. Cushman as interpreters and assistants, and sent them to visit the different tribes and bands, to assure them of the protection and guidance of the Great Father in Washington, to urge them to cultivate the soil and "follow the white man's road," that is, to adopt the habits of civilized life; and to impress upon them the necessity of making treaties, in order to prevent future trouble and secure them peace and safety. He also appointed A. J. Bolon agent for the Indians east of the Cascades, and William H. Tappan agent for the coast and river Indians on the Chehalis and Columbia rivers, Gray's Harbor, and Shoalwater Bay.

Governor Stevens deeply commiserated the condition and probable future of the Indians under his charge, and felt the greatest interest and concern in their welfare and improvement. How wise, generous, and beneficent a policy he established in his treaties, with what great kindness, justice, and firmness he uniformly treated them, will be shown later in this work. It is enough to say now that the Indians came to know him as their friend and protector, and to this day hold his memory in reverence; that the treaties he made and the policy he inaugurated have remained in force to the present time, and that under them the Indians of Washington have more fully preserved their rights and improved their condition than the aborigines of any other State.

Having thus started the civil government and Indian service, and set the young men of the exploration hard at work preparing the reports, and, as already related, dispatched McClellan to run the line from the Sound to the Snoqualmie Pass, the governor took the Sarah Stone, a small sailboat, or "plunger," and, accompanied by Mr. George Gibbs, went down the Sound in person, in order, as he states, "to visit and take a census of the Indian tribes, learn something of the general character of the Sound and its harbors, and to visit Vancouver Island and its principal port, Victoria.

"In this trip I visited Steilacoom, Seattle, Skagit Head, Penn's Cove, the mouths of the Skagit and Samish rivers, Bellingham Bay, passed up the channel De Rosario and down the channel

De Haro to Victoria, and on my return made Port Townsend and several other points on the western shore of the Sound. We examined the coal mines back of Seattle and Bellingham Bay, and saw a large body of Indians of nearly all the tribes. I became greatly impressed with the important advantages of Seattle, and also with the importance of the disputed islands."

In a report to the Secretary of War, written immediately after this trip, he remarks: —

"I was agreeably impressed with Elliott's Bay, on which are the flourishing towns of Seattle and Alki, and I agree entirely in the opinion of Captain McClellan that it is the best harbor on the Sound, and unless the approach to it from the pass should, on a more minute examination, prove less favorable than to some other point, which is hardly to be expected, that it is the proper terminus of the railroad."

In his reports Seattle is assumed as the terminus on the Sound, and all the distances measured and calculations of cost, etc., are made with reference to that point as the western end of the route.

The above is a provokingly brief and meagre record of this trip, which occupied the whole month of January, the same month that McClellan, after balking the Snoqualmie survey, turned back from Camano Island and abandoned the examination of the lower Sound in consequence of the inclemency of the weather. The governor's trip could have been no holiday excursion, in an open sailboat in that stormy, rainy season, and among the swift tides and fierce gales of the lower Sound. But it was fruitful in results. He grasped with the acute and discriminating eye of an engineer the whole system of waters and the several harbors and points of importance, talked with the principal men of each place and gleaned all the information they could furnish, and gained a comprehensive and correct idea of the numbers, distribution, and character of the Indians.

Moreover, he met at Victoria Governor Sir James

Douglass and the other officers there of the Hudson Bay Company, and discussed with them their claims within our borders. He had now visited and personally examined all but one (Fort Okanogan) of that company's posts within his territory, Colville, Walla Walla, Vancouver, Cowlitz Farms, and Nisqually, and had discussed their claims with the officers in charge of them, and with the chief factor, Sir James Douglass. As the result of this investigation he made, on his return to Olympia, an exhaustive report to the Secretary of State, setting forth in detail the actual holdings and improvements of the company at each point. He estimated that their value could not exceed $300,000, and recommended that a commission be appointed to adjudicate the claims, and that such sum be appropriated by Congress to extinguish them. Secretary Marcy adopted his views and recommendations, and transmitted them to Congress, and a bill appointing the commission and making the appropriation passed the Senate the following session, but failed in the House. These claims remained a bone of contention between the countries for many years, until finally Great Britain, by means of a joint commission, and by sticking to the most extravagant demands with true bulldog tenacity, succeeded in wringing nearly a million dollars from the United States.

At the election Columbia Lancaster was chosen delegate in Congress. He was a lawyer by profession, and a man of ability and education.

The legislature assembled on the appointed day, and Governor Stevens delivered his first message. Briefly reviewing the great natural resources of the Territory and its commercial advantages, with its unrivaled harbors and location to control in due time the trade of China and Japan, he recommended the adoption of a code of laws, the organization of the country east of the Cascades into counties, a school system with military training in the higher schools, and the organization of the militia. The latter he declared necessary in view of their remote situation, compelling them to rely upon themselves in case of war, for a time at least, and to enable them to draw arms and ammunition from the general government, which could be issued only to an organized militia force. He dwelt on the importance of extinguishing the Indian title and the claims of the Hudson Bay and Puget Sound Agricultural Companies, and settling the boundary line on British territory, and recommended them to memorialize Congress in behalf of these measures. He informed them that, under instructions from the Secretary of State, he had already notified the foreign Fur Company that it could not be allowed to trade with Indians within the Territory, and would be given until July to wind up their affairs. He also urged them to ask Congress for a surveyor-general and a land office, for more rapid surveys of public land, so that they might be kept in advance of settlement; to amend the land laws by facilitating the acquisition of title, and by placing single women on the same footing with married women; for a grant of lands for a university; for improved mail service; for roads to Walla Walla, to Vancouver, and to Bellingham Bay along the eastern shore of the Sound; and for continuing the geographical and geological surveys already begun. He boldly advocated the construction of three railroads across the continent, undoubtedly the first to foresee the necessity of more than a single line. From this time he always advocated three transcontinental roads.

All these recommendations were promptly adopted by the legislature, except as regarded the militia, concerning which no action was taken; an unfortunate neglect, which left the people almost defenseless when the Indian war broke out less than two years later.

Soon after arriving at Olympia, Governor Stevens writes his friend Halleck announcing his arrival and the successful achievement of the exploration. In this letter he expresses the opinion that the waters of San Francisco Bay and Puget Sound should both have their connections with the States by railroad.

He asks Halleck how lands should be donated and managed for the establishment of a university in Washington Territory, and his views as to a plan, etc.

January 9 he writes Joseph Grinnell & Co., of New York, a great mercantile and shipping and whaling firm, suggesting to them the establishing of a whaling and fishing depot on one of the harbors of the lower Sound.

Halleck writes a cordial letter in reply to the governor's, and gives him a glimpse "behind the curtain" of California and Southern Democratic politics, which throws light on Jefferson Davis's action in shutting off the further exploration of the Northern route.

"I have by no means lost my interest in the Democratic party, or the great public questions of the day. The first and most important of these is the great continental railroad. Present examinations would seem almost conclusive against Benton's central project. If so, this road must run from some point in New Mexico to some pass near Los Angeles, and thence to San Francisco (and San Diego, perhaps).

"If this southern route should be selected, it would lead to another northern route, perhaps the one explored by yourself to Puget Sound. Even if a single road should be adopted on the central line, it must fork to San Francisco and Puget Sound, the two great termini of the Pacific coast.

"The pro-slavery extension party will work very hard against the North Pacific States, which must of necessity remain free. The first branch of this project was to call a new convention in California dividing it into two States, making the southern one a slave State, with San Diego as the port and terminus of a railroad through Texas. Circulars and letters to that effect were sent to pro-slavery men in California, and the attempt made to divide the State, but it failed. The next move was to acquire Lower California and part of Sonora and Chihuahua, making Guaymas the terminus, and the newly acquired territory slave States. Two separate plans were set on foot for the same object, the Walker 'filibustering' expedition against Lower California and Sonora, and Gadsden's treaty with Santa Anna. The former is thus far a most complete and contemptible failure, but rumor says the latter is likely to be successful, and will be undoubtedly, if backed with sufficient money. If the territory is acquired, it will be slave territory, and a most tremendous effort will be made to run *a* railroad if not *the* railroad from Texas to Guaymas, with a *branch* to San Francisco."

Amid all these pressing and engrossing official duties the governor found time to purchase his future homestead in Olympia, Block 84, and also a tract of ten acres a little farther back, where Maple Park is now situated. He also contracted for the purchase of the north half of the Walker Donation claim, a tract of three hundred and twenty acres situated a mile and a half south of the town and half way to Tumwater. All these tracts were then buried in the dense and tall fir forest; but when the country was cleared, it appeared that the governor had selected them with unerring judgment, for they are the finest sites in the town or vicinity.

During all this time the governor and the officers and scientific men of the exploration were hard at work on the reports of their operations, working up the observations, and classifying the collections. As McClellan, Donelson, Lander, Suckley, Gibbs, Arnold, Tinkham, and Grover successively reached Olympia, bringing fresh contributions of information gathered in their trips, each took hold of the work. The offices of the survey were in two small, one-storied buildings on the west side of Main Street, between Second and Third, hired of Father Ricard, and presented a busy scene, filled with desks, tables, instruments, collections, maps, and papers, among which the young men were writing and working for dear life.

Lieutenant Arnold and Dr. Suckley executed the reconnoissances intrusted to them most satisfactorily. Lieutenant Grover, starting from Fort Benton in January with his dog-train, crossed the main range to the Bitter Root valley, finding only eight inches of snow, and thence continued with horses down Clark's Fork and Pend Oreille Lake and to the Dalles. On reaching Vancouver the governor dispatched an express to Lieutenant Mullan by Spokane Garry, who had accompanied him to that point, and in January he sent wagonmaster Higgins with a second express to the same point. Thus, by these expresses going and returning, he had the route between the Bitter Root valley and Olympia traversed four times in addition to Grover's trip. Lieutenant Mullan crossed the main continental divide six times that winter, extending his trips to Fort Hall, on the upper Snake River, and traveling nearly a thousand miles. The explorations made by the young officers, including Tinkham and Doty, were very remarkable and valuable, and were attended at times with great exertions and privations, and full accounts of them are given in the final report.

Thus, by his winter posts and parties, the governor was solving, in the most complete and satisfactory manner, the questions of mountain snows and climates. From Olympia he reported to Secretary of War Davis the results of the explorations, and particularly on these points. He urged that the posts be continued, and a closer examination made of the more favorable mountain passes, and that lines be surveyed from the Northern route to Great Salt Lake and to San Francisco.

At this juncture Governor Stevens received a curt and peremptory order from Secretary Davis, disapproving his arrangements, and ordering him to disband the winter parties and bring his operations to a close. Acknowledging the receipt of the order, February 13, he declares that it shall be promptly obeyed, and continues: —

> "But I earnestly submit to the department the importance of the continuation of these surveys, and indulge the hope that Congress will make liberal appropriations, both in a deficiency bill and in the general appropriation bill, in order that the field now so well entered upon may be fully occupied.
>
> "I will respectfully call the attention of the department to the peculiar circumstances of my exploration, which will, it seems to me, explain the exceeding of the appropriation, with every desire and effort on my part so to arrange the scale and conduct it as not to involve a deficiency. The field was almost totally new, rendering it impossible to form an estimate. Much work of reconnoissance had to be done, which had previously been done for all the other routes, before a direction could be given to the railroad examinations and estimates proper. Unforeseen expenses in the way of presents, etc., had to be incurred to conciliate the Indian tribes, for our route was the only one, so far as I was informed, that at the time was deemed particularly dangerous; and the investigation of the question of snow was a vital and fundamental one, essential to making any reliable report at all, and included within the express requirements of the original instructions. I deeply regretted the deficiency which I found impending at Fort Benton, and I took at that place that course which I believed Congress and the department would have taken under the circumstances."

Moreover, to provide funds indispensable for the immediate needs of the survey, the governor had drawn on Corcoran and Riggs, government bankers in Washington, to the amount of $16,000, and these drafts all went to protest.

But the Secretary's order arrived too late to frustrate Governor Stevens's thoroughgoing measures for determining the snow question. The problem was solved before the work of the winter parties could be arrested, and this most important point was clearly and satisfactorily set forth in the report. The much-feared mountain snows were found to be greatly exaggerated, and to present no real obstacle to the operation of railroads. In this respect the report has been fully confirmed by subsequent experience, and in fact less difficulty has been encountered from snow in the mountains than on the plains of Dakota.

He decided, therefore, to hasten to Washington the earliest moment his threefold duties of the governorship, Indian service, and the exploration would admit of, filled with the fixed determination to prevent the discontinuance of the exploration, to secure the payment of the protested drafts, and to enlighten the government as to the necessity of the Blackfoot council, and of extinguishing the Indian title within his own Territory.

To justify his going without leave first obtained, the legislature passed a joint resolution that "no disadvantage would result to the Territory should the governor visit Washington, if, in his judgment, the interests of the Northern Pacific Railroad survey could thereby be promoted."

CHAPTER XXIII

RETURN TO WASHINGTON. — REPORT OF EXPLORATION

Governor Stevens left Olympia on March 26, and, proceeding by way of the Cowlitz to the Columbia, and by steamer down the coast, reached San Francisco early in April. Here he found a group of his old friends and brother officers, including Mason, Halleck, and Folsom, and how warmly he was received by them, and how interesting they found his accounts of the exploration, the Indians, and the many wild and new scenes he had passed through, may be imagined. His arrival attracted much public attention; his exploration was deemed a very important and remarkable one, and one conducted with remarkable ability and success; and in Music Hall, on Bush Street, April 13, before a crowded audience, and introduced by Mayor Garrison, he gave an able address upon the Northern route. In this address he boldly advocated three railroads across the continent, declaring that the subject of internal communications was too great to be treated from a sectional point of view. He demonstrated the favorable character of the route and country he had explored, the navigability of the upper Columbia and Missouri, and the little obstruction from snows. The impression made by this address is reflected in the editorial of the San Francisco "Herald:" —

> "Of all the surveys ordered by the general government at Washington with a view to the selection of a route for a railroad across the continent, that intrusted to Governor Stevens is by far the most satisfactory. He took the field in June last,

having left the Mississippi River on the 15th of that month, and, moving steadily westward, — throwing out parties on the right and left of his line, surveying every stream of any consequence, exploring every pass again and again, — he has accomplished in that time the survey of a belt extending two thousand miles from east to west, and from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles from north to south. In the Rocky Mountains his explorations have extended over four hundred miles from north to south, and in the Cascade Mountains over two hundred and fifty miles. While the main work of reconnoissance was going on, the auxiliary departments of geology, natural history, botany, etc., were prosecuted with vigor and success. The results obtained in so short a space of time are, as far as we are aware, unparalleled.

"The route thus occupied by Governor Stevens and his party is the route of the two great rivers across the continent, the Missouri and Columbia. Their tributaries interlock; the whole mountain range is broken down into spurs and valleys, and no obstruction exists from snow. The whole route is eminently practicable. The highest grade will be fifty feet to the mile. The summit level of the road will be about five thousand feet above the sea. There will be but one tunnel. The snows will be less than in the New England States. The Missouri River has been surveyed, and found to be navigable for steamers to the Falls, about seven hundred miles from Puget Sound, and five hundred miles to the point where the main Columbia is first reached by railroad from the East. This five hundred miles is in part along Clark's Fork, affording one hundred miles navigable for steamers.

"The results of the survey may be summed up as follows: Three lines run from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains; nine passes explored in the Rocky Mountains; three lines run from the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River and Puget Sound; the Cascades explored from the Columbia to the 49th parallel; Puget Sound examined with reference to a railroad depot; the fact that not the slightest obstruction will occur from snow established beyond controversy."

After a short stay in San Francisco, Governor Stevens took the steamer for the Isthmus, and reached New York in May, and the next morning had a joyful reunion with his wife and little girls in Newport. After his severe and long-continued labors, the sea voyage compelled him to a much-needed rest. On such voyages he threw off his wonted intense, high pressure mood of work, and, with mind relaxed, enjoyed the soothing influence of old Neptune.

He proceeded immediately to Washington with his family, except his son, who was at school at Phillips Academy in Andover, and who joined him later at the summer vacation, and took rooms at the National Hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue. A great deal was still to be done to complete the report of the exploration, and with Tinkham, Osgood, and other assistants he drove it with his accustomed vigor. On June 30 he submitted it to the department, the first report of all the routes, although it covered the greatest field, and was by far the most comprehensive and exhaustive.

Secretary Davis, recognizing that in his measures for prosecuting the survey Governor Stevens was actuated solely by zeal for the public service, submitted an estimate to cover the deficiency, which was duly appropriated, and the protested drafts were honored. General Hunt gives the following incident, which shows the confidence Governor Stevens's old friends had in his ability to carry his points: —

"I followed him in the thorough work he made of the Northern Pacific Railway survey, — of his row with Jeff Davis for overrunning in his expenditures the amount assigned him, and *so* preventing Jeff's designs of defeating that road. In 1854 I had, at Fort Monroe, occasion to describe your father to old Major Holmes, a classmate of Jeff. He went to Washington, and on his return told me, 'Your friend Stevens is ruined. Davis refuses to recommend to Congress to make good the expenditures as contrary to orders. It will ruin Stevens.' 'Wait awhile,' said I; 'I see by the last "Union" that Stevens has just arrived en route to Washington at Panama. He will leave Jeff *nowhere!'* Soon after he arrived in Washington, was followed by an appropriation covering all his bills, and so Jeff failed all round."

Secretary Davis was in fact astonished and deeply disappointed at the results of the survey, and the very favorable picture of the Northern route and country given in Governor Stevens's report. A leader among the Southern public men, who were so soon to bring on the great rebellion, of which he was to be the official head, he had set his heart upon the Southern route, and was anxious to establish its superiority to all others and secure its adoption as the national route, in order to aggrandize his own section. He could ill brook, therefore, Governor Stevens's clear and vivid description of the Northern route, showing its great superiority in soil and climate, the easy grades, absence of snow, and accessibility by inland river navigation. He chose to consider the accounts overdrawn as the best way of sustaining his chosen route. In his report to Congress, transmitting the surveys of the several routes, he took great pains to belittle the results of Governor Stevens's labors and disparage the Northern route. In his comparison of routes, he arbitrarily increased the governor's estimate of cost from $117,121,000 to $150,871,000, or nearly $38,000,000; magnified the physical difficulties; condemned the agricultural resources; declared that "the country west of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific slope may likewise be described as one of general sterility," and that "the severely cold character of the climate throughout the whole route, except the portion west of the Cascade Mountains, is one of its unfavorable features." He ignored the governor's statements, and Tinkham's reconnoissance as to the snow in the Snoqualmie Pass, and the practicability of the latter, and, quoting

McClellan with approval, declared that "the snow is twenty feet deep, the pass barely practicable, and the information now possessed is sufficient to decide against this route." It is significant that he pays a warm compliment to McClellan, remarking that "his examination presents a reconnoissance of great value, and, though performed under adverse circumstances, exhibits all the information necessary to determine the practicability of this portion of the route." And this of an officer who had consumed a whole month in moving one hundred and eighty miles; lay another month in camp in the Yakima valley, making only the most cursory examinations; found the passes non-existent, or "impracticable;" reported the snow twenty to twenty-five feet deep on the credit of Indians; ignobly quailed at inclement weather and snows, which other men bravely faced and overcame; and generally condemned the country, and vilified the hardy pioneers. In sober truth McClellan found credit in the eyes of the Secretary, not for what he accomplished, but for what he failed to accomplish, for his unfavorable and condemnatory report on the route and the country, which was precisely the kind of testimony the Secretary wanted. The country, stigmatized as one of "general sterility," and which Governor Stevens pronounced a fine, arable region of great fertility, is now one of the great wheat-fields of the country, yielding twenty to thirty million bushels a year.

Moreover, Mr. Davis manifested a dissatisfied and fault-finding spirit towards the governor. On one occasion, when the latter was calling on him, and asking his attention to some matter of importance connected with the survey, Davis interrupted him with marked impatience, and intimated that he had no time to hear him. "I do not come here to talk with Jefferson Davis," exclaimed the governor with dignity, "but to confer with the Secretary of War upon the public business intrusted to my charge, and I demand his attention." The Secretary at once gave him full and considerate hearing until the matter was fully gone into, and as the governor took his leave, followed him to the door, and frankly apologized for his momentary rudeness. Jefferson Davis was not without generous and magnanimous traits, and appreciated the earnest and sincere character of his caller. But he put a stop to further work on the Northern route, prevented any more appropriations for it, and kept up his fight against it. Some time afterwards, in speaking of the route to a mutual friend,[1] he declared: "Governor Stevens is a man of great ability, and of upright and high-toned character, but he has entirely misconceived and exaggerated the agricultural resources of the Northern route. The fact is, he has no knowledge of agricultural soils or conditions." When this was repeated to the governor he remarked: "Indeed, perhaps Mr. Davis does not know that I was brought up on a farm until my seventeenth year."

But Governor Stevens indulged in no complaints at this unworthy treatment. He knew that the information given in his report was too well founded and abundant to be refuted by mere official rancor. Despite the deprivation of funds, he continued the work of exploration, survey, and observation for the next three years, making free use of the Indian agents and volunteer troops under his command, and unsparing in his own personal exertions, and on February 7, 1859, submitted to the War Department "My final report of the explorations made by me and under my direction in the years 1853, 1854, and 1855, to determine the practicability of the Northern route for a railroad to the Pacific." This report, published by order of Congress in two large quarto volumes, as Parts I. and II., vol. xii., Pacific Railroad Reports, contains over eight hundred pages, with plates, tables, and views, and most fully sustains the earlier report, besides adding an immense amount of new information. And this was Governor Stevens's answer to Secretary Davis.

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[1] Major George T. Clark.

But the governor found the sultry summer in Washington a very trying one, in cramped quarters, overburdened with the voluminous data and details of the report, and subject to many annoyances. Unfortunately, the meteorological and astronomical observations, while in care of Lieutenant Donelson, were lost, presumably on the Isthmus, by the carelessness of the express company, and could not be recovered, although that officer returned to San Francisco expressly in search of them, and this loss caused serious embarrassment. The governor found, too, that some of the scientific corps were proposing to publish as their own separate work the materials gathered as members of the exploration, and had to adopt decided and severe measures to prevent the barefaced attempt. During great part of July he was seriously ill, and incapacitated from work.

In addition to all these labors and cares, he obtained the sanction of the government for holding the Blackfoot council he had so much at heart, for which he was appointed a commissioner, and allotted $10,000 for assembling and bringing the western Indians to Fort Benton. His views and recommendations in regard to treating with the Indians of Washington Territory, and purchasing their lands, were also adopted, and he was appointed the commissioner to make such treaties. As already stated, his recommendations in regard to the claims of the Hudson Bay Company were adopted by the Secretary of State. Congress appropriated $30,000 for a wagon-road from Fort Benton to Walla Walla, a matter which the governor strenuously urged; and also amended the land laws, created the office of surveyor-general, and made appropriations for universal surveys and mail service. To all these matters "Governor Stevens addressed himself with the energy, ability, and straightforwardness which were his characteristics, supplementing the feebler efforts of Lancaster, and, with Lane of Oregon, coming to the rescue of the most important bills for Washington, and really doing the work of the delegate."[1] Notwithstanding Secretary Davis's attitude on the Northern route, Governor Stevens seems to have lost none of his influence with the administration. When about to return to the Pacific coast, President Pierce invited him to write him personally and frequently.

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[1] Bancroft's *Pacific States*, vol. xxvi. p. 88.

CHAPTER XXIV

CROSSING THE ISTHMUS

Governor Stevens, with his family, consisting of his wife, four children, the two youngest being only two and four years old respectively, and the nurse Ellen, a bonny young Irish woman, sailed from New York, September 20, 1854, en route for his far Western home. The vessel was packed full, with thirteen hundred passengers. The food was execrable, meats and poultry tainted and almost uneatable. Ice was charged extra, twenty-five cents a pound. The second cabin table rivaled at times a scene from Bedlam. The hungry passengers would often hurl the spoiled chickens overboard amid loud complaints, laughter, and the imitated crowing and cackle of cocks and hens. Christy's minstrels were on board, bound to San Francisco, — a reckless, noisy, drinking crew, but fine performers, both instrumental and vocal, and always ready and willing to entertain the passengers with their pleasing melodies. The best state-rooms were allotted the governor and family, with seats next the captain at table, but the younger children had to sit at the second table. The ship put in at Havana for a day, where the family enjoyed a delicious repast of broiled birds on toast and guava jelly at the Dominica restaurant, and viewed the cathedral and tomb of Columbus. Crossing the Caribbean sea in hot and sultry weather, they arrived at Aspinwall on the 29th.

This place was squalid, dreary, and repulsive. Low, flat, swampy morass, some filled-in land; great pools of dirty, green, stagnant water; a frail, rickety wharf, which the ship hardly dared touch lest it fall over; a railroad track along the shore; a hundred yards back, a number of large, cheap-built wooden houses, like overgrown tenement houses, unpainted and dilapidated; the street a bed of mud, littered with broken boards and refuse lumber and piles of rubbish; black pigs roaming and rooting about; many rascally and worthless-looking natives, in whom the negro predominated, — the whole thoroughly wet down by heavy, drenching, tropical showers, — such was Aspinwall, as the disappointed passengers landed, and sought the shelter of the buildings supposed to be hotels, but where almost everything was lacking except extortionate charges.

After a comfortless night and miserable breakfast, the party embarked on the cars, and proceeded about twenty miles to the "Summit," which was half way to Panama, and as far as the road then extended, and which was reached about noon, and learned that the rest of the way across had to be made on horse or mule back. There were no animals ready, but it was announced that the party would have to wait until the next morning, when plenty of mules would be provided. Some railroad sheds, a few native huts, and a huge pavilion, consisting of an immense pyramidal thatched roof surmounting low sides mostly open, comprised the only shelters, and into them the passengers flocked.

The great pavilion belonged ~~to a~~ huge, jet black Jamaica negro, named Carusi, and was not partitioned off, consisting of nothing indeed but the earthen floor and the roof above it, with the low sides. At night this rude structure was thronged with the weary passengers. Delicate ladies and children, rough men, and people of every kind and condition fairly covered the floor, or rather ground, seeking rest as best they could; while in the centre of the apartment, in a big, old-fashioned, four-poster bed, lay the gigantic Carusi side by side with his fat wife, their ebony faces contrasting with the white pillows and sheets. The minstrels improved the occasion with banjo and song until late at night, when some of them, becoming drunk, began disturbing the company with oaths and obscene language, but Governor Stevens rebuked them in such stern and minatory manner that they were cowed, and relapsed into silence.

The expected mules began arriving in small bands under charge of natives about noon the next day, and with much bargaining and contention the passengers secured their mounts, and started off in groups. The governor employed two natives to carry the two youngest children, who were mere babies, on their backs in chairs, and set off followed by the rest of the family mounted each on a mule. It soon began to rain in torrents. In an hour it as suddenly ceased, and the sun came out, hot and sultry, soon to be followed by another downpour, and so deluge and sunshine alternated all day. After riding two hours over narrow, muddy trails, and up and down steep though short hills, where the mules had trodden the clay into regular steps, they reached the Chagres River, and found all the passengers who had preceded them collected on the bank, gazing in dismay on the raging yellow flood, for the stream was up under the tremendous rains, and fearing to essay its passage. After viewing the river carefully, the governor forced his mule into it, and, guiding him diagonally across, safely made the opposite bank. Then, returning, he led the way across again, his little daughter Sue, only eight years old, close behind on her mule, then the rest of the family, and after them followed all the waiting crowd. It was dark when they reached Panama, and found shelter in an old cloistered stone convent, now used as a hotel, exchanged their wet clothes for dry purchased at the nearest shop, and obtained much-needed food and rest. But nothing was seen or heard of the natives with the two babies, since they stole off on a footpath soon after starting, and late in the evening the governor mounted a fresh animal, and with a guide went back to find them, spending the greater part of the night in a vain search. At breakfast the next morning the natives brought in the children, safe and well and perfectly contented. They had taken the little ones to their huts on account of the heavy rains, where the native women fed them and put them to bed, dried their clothes, and sent them in the next morning, safe and sound.

During the day the passengers were taken out in boats to the steamer Golden Age, which was anchored in the bay three miles from the town. She was a larger and more commodious ship than the other. The voyage up the coast began the next morning. A stop of several hours was made in the land-locked harbor of Acapulco, which the governor improved by taking his family ashore, and treating them to a dinner of fried chicken at a small posada on the old and quaint paved main street. The Panama fever soon made its dreaded appearance among the passengers, owing to their exposure on the Isthmus; many fell sick, and a considerable number died and were buried at sea. The weather was fine, the sea calm and smooth save for the long rollers of the Pacific, and the voyage would have been an enjoyable one had it not been for the fearful fever and the crowded condition of the vessel. On the fourteenth day she entered the Golden Gate, and rested in the welcome port of San Francisco.

The governor took rooms at the Oriental Hotel. His wife and the three little girls were all seized with the fever on the ship, and their condition was serious when they landed. Doctors Hitchcock and Hammond, old army friends of the governor, were unremitting in their attentions, and after several weeks' care brought the sufferers past the danger point, all except the little four-year-old Maude. Her case they at length pronounced hopeless. But her father would not give her up. He had a hot bath administered as a last resort, and sat by her bedside hour after hour, giving liquid nourishment drop by drop, and at last she passed the crisis and began to recover. By all this sickness they were forced to remain in the city over a month; but in the society of his old friends, and amid the bright, vigorous men and bustling scenes of the new-born metropolis, the time passed rapidly and well improved. Folsom, a man of wealth, placed his fine carriage and horses at Mrs. Stevens's disposal. Halleck would have long talks with the governor. Dr. Gwin and his family, old friends and neighbors, met them with real Southern cordiality.

One incident is worth relating, because it materially affected subsequent events, as the governor believed. A number of officers and other gentlemen were conversing together at the hotel one evening, among whom was General John E. Wool, then commanding the United States forces on the Pacific coast. The talk turned on the battle of Buena Vista, and General Wool loudly claimed for himself all the credit for that battle, disparaging in an offensive manner General Taylor and the part he took in it. At length Governor Stevens, whose strong sense of justice was outraged by the boastful and unfair tirade, spoke up and said: "General Wool, we all know the brilliant part you bore in the battle, but we all know and history will record that General Taylor fought and won the battle of Buena Vista."[1] Wool, although visibly offended, made no reply to this rebuke, but it rankled and caused a bitter animosity, which subsequently found vent in hostile speech and action.

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[1] Governor Stevens's own statement. See Bancroft's *Pacific States*, vol. xxvi. p. 117, note.

The voyage up the coast was made without special incident; they crossed the bar, steamed up the Columbia, and landed at Vancouver early in November. Here they remained a fortnight, the guests of Captain Brent, the quartermaster, in order to enable the sick members to gain strength sufficiently to stand the hard trip to the Sound. After this brief stay the governor took his family on a little steamboat to Portland, where they spent the night. The town then consisted only of a string of small wooden buildings along the river-bank. The street, or road, was a perfect quagmire of mud-holes. Single planks laid along irregularly, with many intervals, furnished the only sidewalks. The next morning they embarked on a steamer and went down the river to Rainier, where they landed. This place consisted of a wharf and a sawmill. It was called Rainier, it was said, by way of a joke, because it rained here all the time; but doubtless it was named after Mount Rainier, which was named by Admiral Vancouver after a lord of the British admiralty. The party took canoes, manned by Indians, the same afternoon, crossed the Columbia, and paddled a few miles up the Cowlitz to Monticello, where they spent the night. At daylight the next morning the governor and family embarked in one large canoe, while the trunks and baggage followed in another, and pushed upstream against a swift current. There were in the canoe the governor, his wife and four children, the nurse, and a crew of four Indians, two at each end. It was a dark, drizzling day, with frequent showers. The passengers sat upon the bottom of the canoe upon plenty of Indian mats, and well wrapped in blankets, and, except for the constrained and irksome position, were fairly comfortable. The Indians, urged by promise of extra pay, paddled vigorously. At the rapids (and it seemed that nearly all the stream was in rapids) they laid aside their paddles, and, standing up, forced the canoe ahead with poles, which they wielded with great skill and vigor. All day long they paddled and poled with unabated energy, now paddling where they could take advantage of an eddy or stretch of back water, now forcing the canoe up swift rapids, gaining inch by inch. It was after dark when they reached Cowlitz Landing, thirty miles above Monticello, and found shelter for the night at the hospitable inn kept by Dr. and Mrs. U. G. Warbass.

Writes Mrs. Stevens of this trip: —

" We were placed in the canoe with great care, so as to balance it evenly, as it was frail and upset easily. At first the novelty, motion, and watching our Indians paddle so deftly, then seize their poles and push along over shallow places, keeping up a low, sweet singing as they glided along, was amusing. As we were sitting flat on the bottom of the canoe, the position became irksome and painful. We were all day long on this Cowlitz River. At night I could not stand on my feet for some time after landing. We walked ankle-deep in the mud to a small log-house, where we had a good meal. Here we found a number of rough, dirty-looking men, with pantaloons tucked inside their boots, and so much hair upon their heads and faces they all looked alike. After tea we were shown a room to sleep in, full of beds, which were for the women. I was so worn out with this novel way of traveling that I laid down on a narrow strip of bed, not undressed, all my family alongside on the same bed. The governor sat on a stool near by, and, strange to say, slept sound through the long, dismal night. He had been shown his bed up through a hole on top of the shanty. He said one look was sufficient. Men were strewn as thick as possible on the floor in their blankets. The steam generated from their wet clothes, boots, and blankets was stifling. One small hole cut through the roof was the only ventilation.

" As soon as breakfast was over the next morning, we mounted into a wagon without springs and proceeded on our journey.

The governor took M. in his arms to keep her from being jolted. There surely were no worse roads to be found anywhere in the world than this. The horses went deep in the mud every step; the wheels sank to the hub, and often had to be pried up. We forded rivers, the water coming above our ankles in the wagon. Many big, deep holes they would jump over, making the horses run quick, when the wagon would jump across, shaking us up fearfully. In one of these holes our horses fell down, and we stuck fast in the mud. We were taken from the wagon by men of our party plunging up to their knees in the mud, and carrying us out by sheer force of their strength. After seating us upon a fallen log, the horses were with difficulty extricated from the mud. After another long day's tiresome travel we stopped at a log-house for the night. Upon entering from the porch we found a big room, with a wood fire filling up one side, blazing and crackling, low chairs in front; in the centre of the room was a table with a clean cloth on it, and a repast of well-cooked food, relishing and abundant, was placed upon it, to which we did ample justice. Our host was an Englishman, a farmer, who was getting on well, a genial, hospitable man. His wife was a superior woman. She had crossed the plains with her first husband. On the journey they were surrounded by Indians. He was killed. She was taken prisoner by these savages, and after passing through untold suffering she managed to make her escape, and after walking hundreds of miles, living upon berries by the way, she came into the Dalles, a forlorn, starved woman, almost destitute of clothing, with her boy ten years of age. It was here our host met her and offered shelter to her child and herself, which she gladly accepted, and finally became his wife. She was a fine-looking woman and a thorough housekeeper, but had the saddest expression on her face. At night she took us across the yard into another log-house, where we found a bright fire burning on the hearth, and nice, clean beds. I felt like staying in this comfortable shelter, hearing the rain patter on the roof, until the rainy season was over, at least."

The host referred to was John R. Jackson. His farm was only ten miles from Cowlitz Landing, but the roads were in such wretched state that a whole day was consumed in traveling this short distance.

After a cheerful breakfast the next morning, the journey was resumed. George W. Stevens and several other gentlemen came out to meet the governor and family, and escorted them to Olympia. The governor mounted his horse Charlie, which he purchased of the Red River half-breeds, and which was brought out to him. This was a great, powerful gray charger, of high spirit, and able to cover twelve miles an hour in a swinging trot without distress. It was another rainy, drizzling day. The road was almost impassable. At Saunders's Bottom, where the town of Chehalis now stands, the mud was knee-deep for two miles, terribly wearing on the animals. At length, after fording the Skookumchuck at its mouth, and traversing an extensive prairie, the wet, tired, and bedraggled party reached the log-house of Judge Sidney S. Ford, and found hospitable shelter for the night, having traveled about twenty-five miles that day.

The next day the party reached Olympia late in the afternoon, after a thirty miles' journey over much better and pleasanter roads, traversing prairies over half the distance, including Grand Mound, Little Mound, and Bush's prairies. It was a dreary, dark, December day. It had rained considerably. The road from Tumwater to Olympia was ankle-deep in mud, and thridded a dense forest with a narrow track. With expectations raised at the idea of seeing the capital and chief town of the Territory, the weary travelers toiled up a small hill in the edge of the timber, reached the summit, and eagerly looked to see the future metropolis. Their hearts sank with bitter disappointment as they surveyed the dismal and forlorn scene before them. A low, flat neck of land, running into the bay, down it stretched the narrow, muddy track, winding among the stumps which stood thickly on either side; twenty small wooden houses bordered the road, while back of them on the left and next the shore were a number of Indian lodges, with canoes drawn up on the beach, and Indians and dogs lounging about. The little hill mentioned is where now stands the Masonic Building, opposite the Olympia Hotel. The site of the Indian camp is now Columbia Street, between Third and Fourth. There were only one or two buildings above, or south of, Sixth Street. The public square was a tangle of fallen timber. Main Street terminated in Giddings's Wharf, which was left high and dry at low tide.

Mrs. Stevens continues her account as follows: —

> "At night we were told, on ascending a hill, 'There is Olympia.' Below us, in the deep mud, were a few low, wooden houses, at the head of Puget Sound. My heart sank, for the first time in my life, at the prospect. After ploughing through the mud, we stopped at the principal hotel, to stay until our house was ready for us. As we went upstairs there were a number of people standing about to see the governor and his family. I was very much annoyed at their staring and their remarks, which they made audibly, and hastened to get in some private room, where I could make myself better prepared for an inspection. Being out in rains for many days had not improved our appearance or clothes. But there seemed no rest for the weary. Upon being ushered into the public parlor I found people from far and near had been invited to inspect us. The room was full. The sick child was cross, and took no notice of anything that was said to her. One of the women saying aloud, 'What a cross brat that is!' I could stand it no longer, but opened a door and went into a large dancing-hall, and soon after, when the governor came to look me up, I was breaking my heart over the forlorn situation I found myself in, — cold, wet, uncomfortable, no fire, shaking with chills. What a prospect! How I longed to find myself back in my childhood's home, among good friends and relatives! Just then we were told we were expected across the street. The governor had his office there, and had us taken directly there. It was a happy change. We went into a large,

cheerful room, with the beds on the floor, a bright fire burning, book-cases filled with books smiling upon us. We soon had a good repast, and felt comfortable at last. In a few days we were at housekeeping, very pleasant indeed, all picking up in health, and good friends around us.

"Many of the people called on me. I found them pleasant and agreeable people; many of them were well-educated and interesting young ladies who had come here with their husbands, government officials, and who had given up their city homes to live in this unknown land, surrounded by Indians and dense forests.

"I remained three years at Olympia, a great part of the time living alone with the children, the governor being away in all parts of the Territory, making treaties with the Indians, planning and arranging the settlement of the country. There was a pleasant company of officers, with their wives, stationed at Steilacoom, twenty miles from Olympia, with whom I became acquainted, and had visits from and visited. Naval ships came up Puget Sound with agreeable officers on board. I had a horse to ride on horseback across the lovely prairies. Almost daily I took a ride about the picturesque, beautiful country, with the rich, dense forests and snowy mountains, green little prairies skirted by timber, lakes of deep, clear water, all of which was new to me, affording great pleasure in exploring Indian trails and country, which was completely new. I also had a boat built, in which I made excursions down the Sound. About two miles down there was a Catholic mission, a large, dark house or monastery, surrounded by cultivated land, a fine garden in front filled with flowers, bordered on one side, next the water, with immense bushes of wall-flowers in bloom; the fragrance, resembling the sweet English violet, filling the air with its delicious odor. Father Ricard, the venerable head of this house, was from Paris. He had lived in this place more than twenty years. He had with him Father Blanchet, a short, thickset man, who managed everything pertaining to the temporal comfort of the mission. Under him were servants who were employed in various ways, baking, cooking, digging, and planting. Their fruit was excellent and a great rarity, as there was but one more orchard in the whole country. There was a large number of Flatheads settled about them, who had been taught to count their beads, say prayers, and were good Catholics in all outward observances; chanted the morning and evening prayers, which they sang in their own language in a low, sweet strain, which, the first time I heard it, sitting in my boat at sunset, was impressive and solemn. We went often to visit Father Ricard, who was a highly educated man, who seemed to enjoy having some one to converse with in his own language. He said the Canadians used such bad French."

Mrs. Stevens was still suffering from the Panama fever, and it was a year before she and little Maude recovered from it. The new quarters consisted of two long, one-story wooden buildings, one room wide, little more than sheds, hired of Father Ricard at $900 a year. They were cheaply built, without plastering, but lined inside with cotton cloth. There was a narrow passageway between them, from which doors gave access to the different rooms. In rear was a large yard, extending to the beach, upon which a gate in the rear fence opened, and where a boat was kept. The Indian camp began at the corner of the yard. The governor had secured two men servants, Agnew as cook, and W. F. Seely, man of all work. The latter was a lusty young Irishman, strong as a bull and quick as a cat, witty, boastful, brave, and devoted to the governor and his family. He was a member of the exploring party, where he had fought and beaten all the pugilistic heroes up to the wagon-master, C. P. Higgins, by whom he had been handsomely vanquished, and whom he regarded ever after with great admiration and esteem.

The family soon felt at home in the new abode, amid the novel scenes and experiences, and cheered by new and old friends. George Stevens, Mason, and Lieutenant Arnold came in and out like brothers. There were Evans and Kendall, who came with the exploration; Major H.

A. Goldsborough, George Gibbs, Colonel Simmons, Frank Shaw, and Orrington Cushman, known as "Old Cush," with his great red beard, a great favorite with children, and liked and trusted by both whites and Indians. Major James Tilton, the surveyor-general, arrived with his family after a voyage around the Horn,— a man of soldierly bearing and aristocratic tastes, who was to render valuable service. Captain J. Cain also arrived, as Indian agent, — a typical Indiana politician, but a man of parts and integrity and public spirit, and a true friend.

The second legislature met on December 4, and the governor on the 5th delivered his message in person.

After acknowledging the consideration shown him as their executive, and congratulating them on the flattering prospects of the Territory, he recommended them to memorialize Congress for roads, mail service, steamer lines, etc., and other needs, and mentioned with regret the failure of Congress to provide for objects for which he had earnestly striven, viz., the extinction of the Hudson Bay Company's claims, the running of the northern boundary line, and a geological survey of the coal measures. He urged the organization of an effective militia, referring to the danger of Indian hostilities, his recommendation to the first legislature, and to the fact that the government had refused his recent applications for arms because the militia was not organized. He summed up the results of his exploration in saying: "Beautiful prairies and delightful valleys, easy passes practicable at all seasons of the year, have taken the place of savage deserts and mountain defiles impracticable half the year from snow. . . . The more the country is examined, the better it develops."

In closing he invoked their support of his efforts in behalf of the Indians: —

"I will indulge the hope that the same spirit of concord and exalted patriotism, which has thus far marked our political existence, will continue to the end. Particularly do I invoke that spirit in reference to our Indian relations. I believe the time has now come for their final settlement. In view of the important duties which have been assigned to me, I throw myself unreservedly upon the people of the Territory, not doubting that they will extend to me a hearty and generous support in my efforts to arrange on a permanent basis the future of the Indians of this Territory."

Referring to the military road across the Nahchess Pass, he said:—

"It would be a great benefit to those traveling this road should the legislature take some step toward sowing with grass-seed the small prairie known as the Bare Prairie, situated a little below the mouth of Green River, as also the sides of the mountain known as La Tête. These points are intermediate in a long distance destitute of grass, and are almost necessarily stopping-places on the march. A very small sum would cover the expense of planting them, and the advantage would be incalculable."

This humane and sensible suggestion was turned into ridicule and defeated by one of those wiseacres, strong in their own conceit and ignorance, that infest most assemblies, who cried out, "Governor Stevens need n't try to make grass grow where God Almighty did n't make it grow."

There was great jealousy on the part of the settlers of the far-reaching claims of the Hudson Bay Company, and under the influence of this feeling the council requested the governor to communicate any information he had as to the manner in which Congress arrived at the estimated amount of $300,000 as the value of such claims. The attentions paid him by the officers of that company, in their open efforts to gain his goodwill and support, were well known, and, with the fact that an appropriation of the above amount for extinguishing the claims had passed the Senate, had excited some mistrust as to the governor's action and attitude on that important question. In reply he simply gave a synopsis of his report to the State Department, which set all doubts at rest.

CHAPTER XXV

INDIAN POLICY. — TREATIES ON PUGET SOUND

GOVERNOR STEVENS regarded his Indian treaties and Indian policy, and his management of the Indians of the Northwest, as among the most important, beneficial, and successful services he rendered the country. By ten treaties and many councils and talks, he extinguished the Indian title to a domain larger than New England; and by the Blackfoot council and treaty he made peace between those fierce savages and the whites and all the surrounding tribes, and permanently pacified a region equally extensive, embracing the greater part of Montana and northern Idaho; and during the four years, 1853–56, he treated and dealt with over thirty thousand Indians, divided into very numerous and independent tribes and bands, and occupying the whole vast region from the Pacific to and including the plains of the upper Missouri, and now comprising the States of Washington, part of Oregon, northern Idaho, and the greater part of Montana. Moreover, by gaining the wavering friendship and fidelity of doubtful tribes, and even many members of the disaffected, he frustrated the well-planned efforts of the hostile Indians to bring about a universal outbreak, and saved the infant settlements from complete annihilation at the hands of the treacherous savages.

His Indian policy was one of great beneficence to the Indians, jealously protected their interests, and provided for their improvement and eventual civilization, while at the same time it opened the country for settlement by the whites. The wisdom with which it was planned, and the ability and energy with which it was carried out, during this brief period, are attested by the remarkable success which attended it, and by the fact that many of these tribes are to-day living under those very treaties, and have made substantial progress towards civilized habits. It is believed that in their extent and magnitude, in their difficulties and dangers, and in the permanence and beneficence of their results, these operations are without parallel in the history of the country. Yet for several years Governor Stevens's Indian treaties were bitterly assailed and misrepresented both by hostile Indians and by officers high in authority; their confirmation was refused by the United States Senate, and he himself was made the target for virulent abuse. It was his intention to write the history of these operations, an intention which the pressure of public duties during the few remaining years of his life, and his early death, prevented. In his final report on the Northern route he remarks, in words of manly fortitude and confidence: —

> "I trust the time will come when my treaty operations of 1855, — the most extensive operations ever undertaken and carried out in these latter days of our history, — I repeat, I trust the time will come when I shall be able to vindicate them, and show that they were wise and proper, and that they accomplished a great end. They have been very much criticised and very much abused; but I have always felt that history will do those operations justice. I have not been impatient as to time, but have been willing that my vindication should come at the end of a term of years. Let short-minded men denounce and criticise ignorantly and injuriously, and let time show that the government made no mistake in the man whom it placed in the great field of duty as its commissioner to make treaties with the Indian tribes."

And in another place he adds: —

"I intend at some future day to give a very full account of these large operations in the Indian service."

In his journey across the plains, amid all the cares and labors of the great exploration, Governor Stevens took the utmost pains, by messages, talks, and councils to and with the Blackfeet and other tribes, to prepare them for the great council and peace treaty which he saw was necessary for the opening and settlement of the country, and on arriving in his own Territory was equally indefatigable in impressing upon the Indians there the advantages of living at peace with the white man, of adopting his better mode of livelihood, and of securing the aid and protection of the Great Father in Washington. Among his first acts was the appointment of Indian agents, and sending them to urge these views upon the tribes. It was high time for judicious and prompt action; for the Indians, especially the powerful and warlike tribes of the upper Columbia, were becoming alarmed at the way the whites were pouring into the country, and, under the invitation of Congress given by the Donation Acts, were taking up their choicest lands without asking their consent. On his recent visit in Washington he had impressed his views upon the government, obtained its sanction and authorization for the Blackfoot council, and the necessary authority and funds for treating with the Indians of his own superintendency. He now planned treating first with the tribes on Puget Sound and west of the Cascades for the cession of their lands, then with the great tribes occupying the country between the Cascades and Rocky Mountains for their lands, and then, crossing the Rockies, to proceed to Fort Benton, accompanied by delegations from the hunting tribes of Washington and Oregon, and there hold the great pre-arranged peace council with the Blackfeet, Crows, and Assiniboines of the plains east of the mountains, and the Nez Perces, Flatheads, Pend Oreilles, etc., of the western slope.

Immediately on his return to Olympia the governor sent out the agents and messengers to assemble the Sound Indians at designated points for council and treaty making, and early in January dispatched Mr. Doty with a small party east of the Cascades to make the preliminary arrangements for bringing together in council the Indians of that region.

The Indians on the Sound, including those on the Strait of Fuca, numbered some eight thousand five hundred, and were divided into a great many tribes and bands. They were canoe Indians, and drew most of their food from the waters, chiefly salmon and shell-fish, eked out with game, roots, and berries. Those about the upper Sound had bands of ponies, with which they roamed the prairies in summer. They lived in large lodges, several families together, constructed of planks split from the cedar, with nearly flat roofs, and often thirty or forty feet long and twenty wide. They showed no little artistic skill in their canoes, paddles, spears, fish-hooks, basket-work impervious to water, and mats of rushes. Out of a single cedar-tree, with infinite pains and labor, they hewed and burned the most graceful and beautiful and finest canoe ever seen, the very model, in lines and run, of a clipper ship. These varied in size from the little fishing-craft, holding but two persons, to a great canoe carrying thirty. They held as slaves the captives taken in war and their descendants, and, singularly enough, the heads of the slaves were left in their natural state, while the skulls of the free-born were flattened by pressure during infancy into the shape of a shovel. Many of the bands were remnants of former large tribes, for they had been greatly diminished in numbers by the ravages of smallpox and venereal disease. They lacked the energy and courage of the Indians of the upper country, and lived in perpetual dread of the gigantic and savage northern Indians, — the Hydahs and other bands of Tlinkits of British Columbia and Alaska, — who would periodically swoop down the coast in their great war canoes and raid these feebler folk, ruthlessly slaughtering the men, and enslaving the women and children. They suffered also, but to a less degree, from incursions of bands of Yakimas across the mountains, equally on trade and plunder bent, whom they designated "Klikitats," or robbers, a term which has been taken as a tribal name. To these dangers were now added the fear of the all-powerful and ever-increasing whites. Thus situated and thus apprehensive, the messages and exhortations of the governor promising them protection, pointing out the way of bettering their condition, and of even imitating the envied superior race, broke upon them like a lighthouse in a dark night upon the storm-tossed mariner, relieved their fears and anxieties, and gave them hope. They hastened to assemble at the appointed council grounds, eager to listen to the new white chief, and to learn what he offered from the Great Father for their benefit.

On December 7, only two days after delivering his message to the legislature, Governor Stevens organized his treaty-making force by appointing James Doty secretary, George Gibbs surveyor, H. A. Goldsborough commissary, and B. F. Shaw interpreter, Colonel M. T. Simmons having already been appointed agent. The governor assembled these gentlemen to confer upon the projected treaties. After giving his views, and showing the necessity of speedily treating with the Indians and placing them on reservations, he had Mr. Doty read certain treaties with the Missouri and Omaha tribes, which contained provisions he deemed worthy of adoption, and invited a general and thorough discussion of the whole subject. So many points were settled by this frank and free interchange of views that Mr. Gibbs was directed to draw up a programme, or outline of a treaty, which on the next meeting on the 10th, after discussion and some changes, was adopted as the basis of the treaties to be made with the tribes on the Sound, coast, and lower Columbia.

No better advisers could have been found than the men with whom he thus took counsel; and one is struck by the clever and considerate way in which he secured the best fruits of their knowledge and experience, and enlisted their best efforts in carrying out the work. Simmons and Shaw were old frontiersmen, among the earliest settlers, and had dealt much with, and thoroughly understood, the Indians, and were respected and trusted by them. Simmons has been justly termed the Daniel Boone of Washington Territory. Shaw was said to be the only man who could make or translate a speech in Chinook jargon offhand, as fast as a man could talk in his own vernacular. The Chinook jargon was a mongrel lingo, made up for trading purposes by the fur-traders from English, French, and Indian words, and had become the common speech between whites and Indians, and between Indians of different tribes and tongues. He greatly distinguished himself afterwards in the Indian war as lieutenant-colonel of volunteers. Gibbs and Goldsborough were men of education, and had lived in the country long enough to know the general situation and conditions, and to learn much about the Indians. Gibbs, indeed, made a study of the different tribes, and rendered an able report upon them as part of the Northern Pacific Railroad exploration. Doty, a son of ex-Governor Doty, of Wisconsin, was a young man of uncommon ability and energy, who had spent the preceding winter at Fort Benton, and had studied and made a census of the Blackfeet.

The salient features of the policy outlined were as follows: —

1. To concentrate the Indians upon a few reservations, and encourage them to cultivate the soil and adopt settled and civilized habits.

2. To pay for their lands not in money, but in annuities of blankets, clothing, and useful articles during a long term of years.

3. To furnish them with schools, teachers, farmers and farming implements, blacksmiths, and carpenters, with shops of those trades.

4. To prohibit wars and disputes among them.

5. To abolish slavery.

6. To stop as far as possible the use of liquor.

7. As the change from savage to civilized habits must necessarily be gradual, they were to retain the right of fishing at their accustomed fishing-places, and of hunting, gathering berries and roots, and pasturing stock on unoccupied land as long as it remained vacant.

8. At some future time, when they should have become fitted for it, the lands of the reservations were to be allotted to them in severalty.

"It was proposed," reported the governor, "to remove all the Indians on the east side of the Sound as far as the Snohomish, as also the S'Klallams, to Hood's Canal, and generally to admit as few reservations as possible, with a view of finally concentrating them in one." It was found necessary, however, in consequence of the mutual jealousies of so many independent tribes, to allow more reservations than he first intended, but some of them were established temporarily, with the right reserved in the President to remove the Indians to the larger reservations in the future.

The schooner R. B. Potter, Captain E. S. Fowler, was chartered at $700 per month, manned and victualed by the owner, to transport the *personnel* and treaty goods from point to point on the Sound. Orrington Cushman, Sidney S. Ford, Jr., and Henry D. Cock, with several assistants, were employed as quartermasters, to prepare camps and council grounds, make surveys, etc.

In all his councils Governor Stevens took the greatest pains to make the Indians understand what was said to them. To insure this he always had several interpreters, to check each other and prevent mistakes in translation, and was accustomed to consult the chiefs as to whom they wanted as interpreters.

> "It was my invariable custom," he states in the introduction to his final railroad report, page 18, "whenever I assembled a tribe in council, to procure from them their own rude sketches of the country, and a map was invariably prepared on a large scale and shown to them, exhibiting not only the region occupied by them, but the reservations that were proposed to be secured to them. At the Blackfoot council, the map there exhibited of the Blackfoot country — of the hunting-ground common to the Blackfeet and the Assiniboines, of the hunting-ground common to the Blackfeet and the tribes of Washington Territory, and of the passes of the Rocky Mountains by which this hunting-ground was reached — was the effective agent in guaranteeing to the Indians the exact facts as to what the treaty did propose, and to give them absolute and entire confidence in the government."

He always urged and encouraged the Indians to make known their own views, wishes, and objections, and gave them time to talk matters over among themselves and make up their minds. Between the sessions of the council he would have the agents and interpreters explain the terms and point out the benefits of the proposed treaty, and would frequently summon the chiefs to his tent, and personally explain matters to them, and draw out their ideas. He also frequently invited public officers, and citizens of standing, to attend the councils, and would make use of them also to talk with and satisfy the Indians. All the proceedings of these councils, the deliberations and speeches as well as the treaties, were every word carefully taken down in writing, and transmitted to the Indian Bureau in Washington, where they are now on file. No one can read these records without being impressed with Governor Stevens's great benevolence towards the Indians, and the absolute fairness, candor, and patience, as well as the judgment and tact, he manifested in dealing with them. One is also likely to be enlightened as to the native intelligence, ability, and shrewdness of the Indians themselves.

The first council was held on She-nah-nam, or Medicine Creek, now known as McAlister's Creek, a mile above its mouth on the right bank, just below the house of Hartman, on a rising and wooded spot a few acres in extent, like an island with the creek on the one side (south) and the tide-marsh on the other. This stream flows along the south side of the Nisqually bottom, parallel to and half a mile from the river. The governor and his party, including Mason, Lieutenant W. A. Slaughter, of the 4th infantry, Doty, Gibbs, Edward Giddings, and the governor's son, Hazard, a boy of twelve, went down to the treaty ground by canoes on December 24, and found a large space cleared of underbrush, the tents pitched, and everything made ready for the council by Simmons, Shaw, Cock, Cushman, and others, who had been sent ahead for that purpose. Seven hundred Indians of the tribes dwelling upon the upper Sound and as far down as the Puyallup River, including the Nisqually, Puyallup, and Squaxon tribes, were encamped near by. It rained nearly all day. In the afternoon the Indians drove a large band of ponies across the creek, forcing them to swim. Provisions were issued to the chiefs to distribute among their people.

On the following day the Indians assembled, taking seats on the ground in front of the council tent in semicircular rows, and the objects and points of the proposed treaty were fully explained to them. The governor would utter a sentence in simple and clear language, and Colonel Shaw would interpret it in the Chinook jargon, which nearly all the Indians understood. The governor was extremely careful to make the Indians comprehend every sentence. Colonel Simmons, Gibbs, Cushman, and the citizens present, all knew the Chinook, and attentively followed Shaw as he interpreted, so that no mistake or omission could occur. It was slow and fatiguing work, this going over the ground sentence by sentence, and after several hours the Indians were dismissed for the day, told to think over what they had heard, and to assemble again the next morning. The governor wished to give them time to fully understand and reflect upon the proposed treaty, and encouraged them to talk freely to himself or any of his assistants in regard to it.

On the 26th the Indians assembled about nine o'clock to the number of 650, and Governor Stevens addressed them as follows: —

"This is a great day for you and for us, a day of peace and friendship between you and the whites for all time to come. You are about to be paid for your lands, and the Great Father has sent me to-day to treat with you concerning the payment. The Great Father lives far off. He has many children. Some of those children came here when he knew but little of them, or of the Indians, and he sent me to inquire about these things. We went through this country this last year, learned your numbers and saw your wants. We felt much for you, and went to the Great Father to tell him what we had seen. The Great Father felt for his children. He pitied them, and he has sent me here to-day to express these feelings, and to make a treaty for your benefit. The Great Father has many white children who come here, some to build mills, some to make farms, and some to fish; and the Great Father wishes you to learn to farm, and your children to go to a good school; and he now wants me to make a bargain with you, in which you will sell your lands, and in return be provided with all these things. You will have certain lands set apart for your homes, and receive yearly payments of blankets, axes, etc. All this is written down in this paper, which will be read to you. If it is good you will sign it, and I will then send it to the Great Father. I think he will be pleased with it and say it is good, but if not, if he wishes it different, he will say so and send it back; and then, if you agree to it, it is a fixed bargain, and payments will be made."

The treaty was then read section by section and explained to the Indians, and every opportunity given them to discuss it.

Governor Stevens then said: —

"The paper has been read to you. Is it good? If it is good, we will sign it; but if you dislike it in any point, say so now. After signing we have some goods to give you, and next summer will give you some more; and after that you must wait until the paper comes back from the Great Father. The goods now given are not in payment for your lands; they are merely a friendly present."

The Indians had some discussion, and Governor Stevens then put the question: "Are you ready? If so, I will sign it." There were no objections, and the treaty was then signed by Governor I. I. Stevens, and the chiefs, delegates, and headmen on the part of the Indians, and duly witnessed by the secretary, special agent, and seventeen citizens present.

The presents and provisions were then given to the chiefs, who distributed them among their people. Towards evening Mr. Swan arrived with twenty-nine Indians of the Puyallup tribe, and reported twenty more on the way. They had started three days before, but had been detained by bad weather. The governor decided to send them presents from Olympia.

Thus it will be seen that the governor first explained the objects and terms of the treaty generally, and the next day had the text of it read to them and also explained. The idea of selling their lands and being paid for them was not new to the Indians, for the settlers were in the habit of assuring them, when they objected and complained at the appropriation and fencing up of their choicest camping, root, and berry grounds, that the Great Father would soon pay them well for their country.

The scope and policy of the treaty will best appear by the following abstract of its thirteen articles: —

1. The Indians cede their land to the United States, comprising the present counties of Thurston, Pierce, and parts of Mason and King.

2. Sets off and describes the reservations, viz., Klah-she-min Island, known as Squaxon Island, situated opposite the mouths of Hammersley's and Totten's inlets, and separated from Hartstene Island by Pearl Passage, containing about two sections of land, or 1280 acres, a square tract of two sections near and south of the mouth of McAlister's Creek, and another equal tract on the south side of Commencement Bay, now covered by the city of Tacoma. Provision is made for the Indians to remove to these reservations, and for roads through them and from them to the nearest public highways.

3. Gives the Indians the right of fishing at their accustomed grounds, except the right of taking shell-fish from beds staked out or cultivated by citizens, and the rights of hunting, gathering berries and roots, and pasturing herds on unclaimed land.

4. $32,500 to be paid in annuities of goods, clothing, and useful articles during the next twenty years.

5. And $3250 to be expended in aiding the Indians to settle on their reservations.

6. Empowers the President to remove the Indians to

other reservations, when the interests of the Territory require it, by remunerating them for their improvements.

7. Prohibits the use of annuities to pay the debts of individuals.

8. Prohibits war or depredations, and the Indians agree to submit all grievances to the government for settlement.

9. Excludes ardent spirits from the reservations on penalty of withholding annuities.

10. Provides at a central or general agency a free school, a blacksmith shop, and a carpenter shop, and to furnish a blacksmith, a carpenter, a farmer, and teachers, all to give instructions for twenty years.

11. Frees all slaves and abolishes slavery.

12. Prohibits the Indians from trading outside the dominions of the United States, and forbids foreign Indians to reside on the reservations without the permission of the superintendent or agent.

13. The treaty to go into effect as soon as ratified by the President and Senate.

The twelfth article was aimed against the liquor traffic, and also to counteract the undue influence of the Hudson Bay Company. It carried out the idea expressed in the governor's instructions to McClellan and Saxton at the outset of the exploration, already quoted. "The Indians must look to us for protection and counsel. . . . I am determined, in my intercourse with the Indians, to break up the ascendency of the Hudson Bay Company, and permit no authority or sanction to come between the Indians and the officers of this government."

Sixty-two Indians signed this treaty, "chiefs, headmen, and delegates of the Nisqually, Puyallup, Steilacoom, Squawksin, S'Homamish, Steh-chass, T'Peek-sin, Squiaitl, and Sa-ha-wamish tribes and bands of Indians, occupying the lands lying around the head of Puget Sound and the adjacent inlets, who, for the purpose of this treaty, are to be regarded as one nation." The Indians all made their marks to their names as written out in full by the secretary. They were: Qui-ee-metl, Sno-ho-dum-set, Lesh-high, Slip-o-elm, Kwi-ats, Sta-hi, Di-a-keh, Hi-ten, Squa-ta-hun, Kahk-tse-min, So-nan-o-youtl, Kl-tehp, Sahl-ko-min, T'Bet-ste-heh-bit, Tcha-hoos-tan, Ke-cha-hat, Spee-peh, Swe-yah-tum, Chah-achsh, Pich-kehd, S'Klah-o-sum, Sah-le-tatl, See-lup, E-la-kah-ka, Slug-yeh, Hi-nuk, Ma-mo-nish, Cheels, Knut-ca-nu, Bats-ta-ko-be, Win-ne-ya, Klo-out, Se-uch-ka-nam, Ske-mah-han, Wuts-un-a-pum, Quuts-a-tadm, Quut-a-heh-mtsn, Yah-leh-chn, To-tahl-kut, Yul-lout, See-ahts-oot-soot, Ye-tah-ko, We-po-it-ee, Kah-sld, La'h-hom-kan, Pah-how-at-ish, Swe-yehm, Sah-hwill, Se-kwaht, Kah-hum-kit, Yah-kwo-bah, Wut-sah-le-wun, Sah-ba-hat, Tel-e-kish, Swe-keh-nam, Sit-oo-ah, Ko-quel-a-cut, Jack, Keh-kise-be-lo, Go-yeh-hn, Sah-putsh, William.

Lesh-high, the third signer, was the principal chief and instigator of the Indian war that broke out the following year, and, after the outbreak was suppressed, was tried and executed for the murder of settlers, after an excited controversy and strenuous efforts to save him on the part of some of the regular officers. Born of a Yakima mother, he was a chief of unusual intelligence and energy, had much to do with the Hudson Bay Company's people at Fort Nisqually, by whom he was much trusted as a guide and hunter, and was supposed to be well affected towards the whites. The first signer, Qui-ee-muth, was Lesh-high's brother, and met with a more tragic fate, being slain by a revengeful settler after he was captured. Sta-hi, the fifth signer, was killed during the Indian war.

The witnesses who signed the treaty, nineteen in number, including well-known public men and pioneers, were the following: M. T. Simmons, Indian agent; James

Doty, secretary; C. H. Mason, secretary of the Territory; W. A. Slaughter, 1st lieutenant, 4th infantry, U. S. A.; James McAlister, E. Giddings, Jr., George Shazer, Henry D. Cock, Orrington Cushman, S. S. Ford, Jr., John W. McAlister, Peter Anderson, Samuel Klady, W. H. Pullen, F. O. Hough, E. R. Tyerall, George Gibbs, Benjamin F. Shaw, interpreter, Hazard Stevens.

The governor became satisfied at a later date that the reservations set off for the Nisquallies and Puyallups were inadequate for their future needs, being of inferior soil and heavily timbered, and in 1856 caused them to be exchanged for two larger tracts of fine, fertile bottom land, — one on the Nisqually, a few miles above its mouth, and the other at the mouth of the Puyallup River, directly opposite the city of Tacoma, which the Indians still occupy.

In the evening, after the council broke up, the governor had another long conference with his advisory board, and settled the points and programme for other treaties. The next morning, directing Gibbs to survey the lines of the two reservations on Nisqually and Commencement bays, and dispatching Simmons and Shaw with the rest of the party in the schooner to the lower Sound to assemble the Indians for the remaining treaties, he returned to Olympia with Mason and Doty. The treaty was immediately forwarded to Washington, and was ratified by the Senate, March 3, 1855, but little over two months after the council.

THE TREATY OF POINT ELLIOTT.

The next council was held at Mukilteo, or Point Elliott, where, between January 12 and 21, the Indians of the east side of the Sound assembled to the number of 2300. On the latter date Governor Stevens arrived on the Major Tompkins, accompanied by Secretary Mason, and by his friend, Dr. C. M. Hitchcock, of San Francisco, who was visiting the country. After a long conference with his assistants in regard to the most suitable points for reservations, and the views and feelings of the Indians, he appointed Gibbs secretary, in place of Doty, who had departed on his mission east of the mountains, and directed him to prepare the draft of a treaty embodying the points decided upon, and in terms similar to the one recently concluded.

The next morning the Indians all assembled; the four head chiefs — Seattle, chief of the Duwhamish and other bands on White River and the Sound within twenty miles of Seattle; Pat-ka-nim, chief of the Snohomish; Goliah, chief of the Skagits; and Chow-its-hoot, chief of the Bellingham Bay and island Indians — took seats in front on the ground; the sub-chiefs occupied a second row, and the various tribes took places behind them in separated groups. The governor then addressed them as follows, Colonel Shaw interpreting: —

"My children, you are not my children because you are the fruit of my loins, but because you are children for whom I have the same feeling as if you were the fruit of my loins. You are my children for whom I will strenuously labor all the days of my life until I shall be taken hence. What will a man do for his own children? He will see that they are well cared for; that they have clothes to protect them against the cold and rain; that they have food to guard them against hunger; and as for thirst, you have your own glorious streams in which to quench it. I want you as my children to be fed and clothed, and made comfortable and happy. I find that many of you are Christians, and I saw among you yesterday the sign of the cross, which I think the most holy of all signs. I address you therefore mainly as Christians, who know that this life is a preparation for the life to come.

"You understand well my purpose, and you want now to know the special things we propose to do for you. We want to place you in homes where you can cultivate the soil, raising potatoes and other articles of food, and where you may be able to pass in canoes over the waters of the Sound and catch fish, and back to the mountains to get roots and berries. The Great Father desires this, and why am I able to say this? Here are two thousand men, women, and children, who have always treated white men well. Did I not come through your country one year since? Were not many of you now present witnesses of the fact? [All said Governor Stevens came.] Did I then make promises to you? [All said he did not.] I am glad to hear this, because I came through your country, not to make promises, but to know what you were, to know what you wanted, to know your grievances, and to report to the Great Father about you. I have been to the Great Father and told him your condition. Here on this Sound you make journeys of three and four days, but I made a journey of fifty days on your behalf. I told the Great Father I had traveled six moons in reaching this country, and had never found an Indian who would not give me food, raiment, and animals to forward me and mine to the great country of the West. I told him that I was among ten thousand Indians, and they took me to their lodges and offered me all they had, and here I will pause and ask you again if you do not know that I have been absent several months on this business? [All shout, 'Yes.'] I went away, but I left a good and strong man in my place. I call upon Governor Mason to speak to you."

Mr. Mason then addressed them, and then the governor called upon Colonel Simmons, who made them a speech in Chinook, at the conclusion of which the Indians cheered.

The governor then resumed:—

"The Great Father thinks you ought to have homes, and he wants you to have a school where your children can learn to read, and can be made farmers and be taught trades. He is willing you should catch fish in the waters, and get roots and berries back in the mountains. He wishes you all to be virtuous and industrious, and to become a happy and prosperous community. Is this good, and do you want this? If not, we will talk further. [All answer, 'We do.']

"My children, I have simply told you the heart of the Great Father. But the lands are yours, and we mean to pay you for them. We thank you that you have been so kind to all the white children of the Great Father who have come here from the East. Those white children have always told you you would be paid for your lands, and we are now here to buy them.

"The white children of the Great Father, but no more his children than you are, have come here, some to build mills, some to till the land, and others to build and sail ships. My children, I believe that I have got your hearts. You have my heart. We will put our hearts down on paper, and then we will sign our names. I will send that paper to the Great Father, and if he says it is good, it will stand forever. I will now have the paper read to you, and all I ask of you two thousand Indians is that you will say just what you think, and, if you find it good, that your chiefs and headmen will sign the same."

Before the treaty was read, the Indians sung a mass, after the Roman Catholic form, and recited a prayer.

Governor Stevens: "Does any one object to what I have said? Does my venerable friend Seattle object? I want Seattle to give his heart to me and to his people."

Seattle: "I look upon you as my father. All the Indians have the same good feeling toward you, and will send it on the paper to the Great Father. All of them — men, old men, women, and children — rejoice that he has sent you to take care of them. My mind is like yours; I don't want to say more. My heart is very good towards Dr. Maynard [a physician who was present]; I want always to get medicine from him."

Governor Stevens: "My friend Seattle has put me in mind of one thing which I had forgotten. You shall have a doctor to cure your bodies. Now, my friends, I want you, if Seattle has spoken well, to say so by three cheers. [Three cheers were given.] Now we call upon Pat-ka-nim to speak his mind."

Pat-ka-nim: "To-day I understood your heart as soon as you spoke. I understood your talk plainly. God made my heart and those of my people good and strong. It is good that we should give you our real feelings to-day. We want everything as you have said, the doctor and all. Such is the feeling of all the Indians. Our hearts are with the whites. God makes them good towards the Americans." [Three cheers were given for Pat-ka-nim.]

Chow-its-hoot: "I do not want to say much. My heart is good. God has made it good towards you. I work on the ground, raise potatoes, and build houses. I have some houses at home. But I will stop building if you wish, and will move to Cha-chu-sa. Now I have given you my opinion, and that of my friends. Their feelings are all good, and they will do as you say hereafter. My mind is the same as Seattle's. I love him, and send my friends to him if they are sick. I go to Dr. Maynard at Seattle if I am sick." [Cheers for Chow-its-hoot.]

Goliah: "My mind is the same as the governor's. God has made it so. I have no wish to say much. I am happy at heart. I am happy to hear the governor talk of God. My heart is good and that of all my friends. I give it to the governor. I shall be glad to have a doctor for the Indians. We are all glad to hear you, and to be taken care of by you. I do not want to say more." [Cheers were given for Goliah.]

The treaty was then read and interpreted to them, and the governor asked them if they were satisfied with it. If they were, he would sign it first, and then they should sign it. If not, he wished them to state in what they desired it to be altered. All having signified their approbation, it was signed first by Governor Stevens, and afterwards by the chiefs and headmen.

The hour being late when the signing was finished, the distribution of the presents was deferred to the next day.

Tuesday, January 23. The Indians having reassembled, Governor Stevens informed them that he was about to distribute some presents. They were not intended as payment for their lands, but merely as a friendly token of regard. He gave them but few things at this time, but the next summer he should again give them a larger present, when the goods intended for them arrived.

Seattle then brought a white flag, and presented it, saying: —

> "Now, by this we make friends, and put away all bad feelings, if we ever had any. We are the friends of the Americans. All the Indians are of the same mind. We look upon you as our father. We will never change our minds, but, since you have been to see us, we will always be the same. Now! now! do you send this paper of our hearts to the Great Chief. That is all I have to say."

The presents were then given to the chiefs to distribute among their people, the camp was struck, and the party embarked on board the steamer, which had been chartered for the purpose of expediting the preparations for the next council, that with the S'Klallams and Sko-ko-mish, but, a heavy blow coming on, she lay at anchor till morning. An Indian express arrived with news that the Indians were collected at Fort Gamble, awaiting the arrival of the governor.

The tribes, as enumerated in the treaty, furnish a long list of unpronounceable Indian names, as follows: Dwamish, Suquamish, Sk-tahl-mish, Sa-mah-mish, Smalh-ka-mish, Skope-ah-mish, Sno-qual-moo, Skai-wha-mish, N'Quentl-ma-mish, Sk-tah-le-jum, Sto-luck-wha-mish, Sno-ho-mish, Skagit, Kik-i-all-us, Swin-a-mish, Squin-a-mish, Sah-ku-me-hu, Noo-wha-ha, Nook-wa-chah-mish, Me-see-qua-guilch, Cho-bah-ah-bish, and others.

The fifteen articles of this treaty contain the same general provisions as that of She-nah-nam Creek. The territory ceded by Article 1 extends from the summit of the Cascades to the middle of the Sound, and from the 49th parallel as far south as the Puyallup River, very nearly, and comprises the present counties of King, part of Kitsap, Snohomish, Skagit, Whatcom, Island, and San Juan.

The reservations, Articles 2 and 3, included 1280 acres at Port Madison, 1280 acres on the east side of Fidalgo

Island, and the island called Chah-chu-sa in the Lummi River. An entire township on the northeast side of Port Gardner, embracing Tulalip Bay, was made the principal reservation, to which the Indians might be removed from the smaller ones; $150,000 in annuities in goods, etc., for twenty years, and $15,000 for improvements on the reservation were provided. The rights of fishing, hunting, gathering berries and roots, and pasturage on vacant land were secured to the Indians. Slavery was abolished, liquor prohibited on the reservations, wars and depredations forbidden, and trading in foreign dominions prohibited. A free school, teachers, doctor, blacksmith and carpenter with shops, and a farmer were provided for, and provision made for eventually allotting the reservations to them in severalty.

The first chief to sign the treaty was Seattle, after whom was named the metropolis of the Sound; the next was Pat-ka-nim, then Chow-its-hoot, then Goliah, and then follows the long list of guttural and sibillant native names, unspeakable by white lips, some of which were accompanied by an alias, as the Smoke, the Priest, General Washington, General Pierce, Davy Crockett, etc.

The treaty was witnessed by M. T. Simmons, C. H. Mason, Charles M. Hitchcock, H. A. Goldsborough, George Gibbs, John H. Scranton, Henry D. Cock, S. S. Ford, Jr., Orrington Cushman, Ellis Barnes, P. Bailey, S. M. Collins, Lafayette Balch, E. S. Fowler, J. H. Hall, Robert Davis, and Benjamin F. Shaw, — seventeen in number.

The ratification of this and all Governor Stevens's subsequent Indian treaties was delayed some four years in consequence of the Indian war which broke out in the fall of 1855, and the misrepresentations made concerning them, and the charges that they were the cause of the war, — misrepresentations and charges originally started by the hostile Indians, and taken up by prejudiced army officers and political and personal enemies; and it was not until he entered Congress, and personally vindicated his treaties before the government and Senate, that they were ratified, on March 8, 1859.

TREATY OF HAHD-SKUS OR POINT-NO-POINT.

The next council was held at Point-no-Point, on the west side of the Sound, opposite the southern end of Whitby Island. The weather was very stormy on the 24th and 25th, but twelve hundred Indians assembled here, comprising the S'Klallams or Clallams, who occupied the shores from half way down the Strait of Fuca to the council ground; the Chim-a-kums, of Port Townsend Bay and the lower end of Hood's Canal; and the Skokomish or Too-an-hooch, from Hood's Canal and the country about its southern extremity. The Major Tompkins reached Point-no-Point on the 24th, and, leaving the schooner at anchor, and the men on shore to form camp, ran down to Port Townsend to bring up additional provisions, and returned in the afternoon. On the 25th, notwithstanding the storm, the Indians gathered at the council ground, and, having seated themselves in a circular row under their chiefs, Governor Stevens addressed them as follows: —

"My children, you call me your father. I, too, have a father, who is your Great Father. That Great Father has sent me here to-day to pay you for your lands, to provide for your children, to see that you are fed, and that you are cared for. Your Great Father wishes you to be happy, to be friends to each other. The Great Father wants you and the whites to be friends; he wants you to have a house of your own, to have a school where your children can learn. He wants you to learn to farm, to learn to use tools, and also to have a doctor. Now, all these things shall be written down in a paper; that paper shall be read to you. If the paper is good, you will sign it and I will sign it. I will then send the paper to the Great

Father. If the Great Father finds that paper good, he will send me word, and I will let you know. The Great Father lives a long way off, and some time will be required to hear from him. I want you to wait patiently till you hear from him. In the mean time the Great Father has sent to you some presents simply as a free gift. Some of these presents I will give you to-day, but I shall give you more in the course of the summer. You will also have your agent, Mr. Simmons, to take care of you. This you will have all the time; and, when the paper comes from the Great Father, then you will have your own houses and homes and schools. Now, what have you to say? If good, give your assent; if not, say so. Now, sit quiet a moment, and the paper will be read."

After the treaty had been read and interpreted, Governor Stevens again asked them if they had anything to say.

Che-lan-teh-tat, an old Skokomish, then rose and said: —

"I wish to speak my mind as to selling the land. Great Chief, what shall we eat if we do so? Our only food is berries, deer, and salmon. Where, then, shall we find these? I don't want to sign away all my land. Take half of it, and let us keep the rest. I am afraid that I shall become destitute and perish for want of food. I don't like the place you have chosen for us to live on. I am not ready to sign that paper."

S'Haie-at-seha-uk, a To-an-hooch, next spoke: —

"I do not want to leave the mouth of the river. I do not want to leave my old home and my burying-ground. I am afraid I shall die if I do."

Dah-whil-luk, the Skokomish head chief, an old man, rose and said: —

"I do not want to sell my land, because it is valuable. The whites pay a great deal for a small piece, and they get money by selling the sticks [timber]. Formerly the Indians slept, but the whites came among them and woke them up, and we now know that the lands are worth much."

Hool-hole-tan or Jim said : —

"I want to speak. I do not like the offers you make in the treaty to us. You say you will give us land, but why should you give us the mouth of the river? I don't like to go on a reservation with the S'Klallams; and, in case of trouble, there are more of them than of us, and they will charge us with it. Before the whites came among us, we had no idea who made the land; but some time ago the priests told us that the Great Chief above made it, and also made the Indians. Since then the Americans have told us that the Great Father always bought the land, and that it was not right to take it for nothing. They waked the Indians up by this, and they now know their land was worth much. I don't want to sign away my right to the land. If it was myself alone I signed for, I would do it; but we have women and children. Let us keep half of it, and take the rest. Why should we sell all? We may become destitute. Why not let us live together with you? I want you to hear what I have to say. All the Indians have been afraid to talk, but I wish to speak and be listened to."

Chits-a-mah-han or the Duke of York, the head chief of the Clallams : —

"My heart is good. I am happy since I have heard the paper read, and since I have understood Governor Stevens, particularly since I have been told I could look for food where I pleased, and not in one place only. Formerly the Indians were bad towards each other, but Governor Stevens has made them agree to be friends. Before the whites came we were always poor; since then we have earned money, and got blankets and clothing. I hope the governor will tell the whites not to abuse the Indians, as many are in the habit of doing, ordering them to go away, and knocking them down."

Other chiefs of the Clallams and of the Chem-a-cums followed in the same strain as the Duke of York, approving the treaty. After further explaining its provisions the governor adjourned the council to the morrow at the request of the Skokomish chief, in order that they might talk it over and understand it thoroughly.

It will be observed that this treaty encountered considerable opposition on the part of the Skokomish, who were, however, the most benefited by it, as the reservation was located in their country. They were largely influenced by the example of the other tribes, and after much discussion among themselves, and talks between sessions with the governor and his assistants, concluded to accept it.

The next morning was a fine, pleasant one, and the Indians came to the council bearing white flags. The governor addressed them, pointing out that the treaty gave them all those things that a father would give his children, as homes, schools, mechanics, and a doctor; the right to fish, hunt, and gather roots and berries. Besides, it prohibited fire-water, and does not a father prevent his children from drinking fire-water? The Great Father was good to his children, and did not wish to steal their lands. It was for them to say what they thought right. If they had anything to say, say it now.

The Duke of York then presented a white flag, saying:

> "My heart is white, so are those of my people, and we will never stain it with blood."

Dah-kwil-luk, the Skokomish chief, said: —

> "My heart, too, has become white, and I give it to the chief. I put away all bad feelings. I will be as a good man, not stealing or shedding blood. We have thrown away the feelings of yesterday and are now satisfied."

He also presented a flag to the governor.

Kul-kah-han, the Chem-a-cum chief, then presented his flag, saying: —

> "We can say nothing but what this flag tells. We give our hearts to you with it in return for what you do for us. We were once wretched, but since you came you have made us right. Formerly other Indians did wrong us, but since the whites came we are free and have not been killed."

Then all signed the treaty, and at a signal a salute was fired from the steamer in honor of the event.

Some hostile feelings having previously existed between the tribes, Governor Stevens now declared that they must drop them forever, and that their hearts towards each other should be good as well as towards the whites. Accordingly the three head chiefs, in behalf of their people, then shook hands. Then the presents were distributed to them. In the afternoon the party reëmbarked, Mr. Mason returning to Olympia on the steamer, and Governor Stevens with the remainder proceeding to Port Townsend in the schooner, on his way to Cape Flattery, the next point of meeting.

The tribes mentioned in the treaty as parties thereto are the Skokomish, To-an-hooch, Chem-a-cum, and S'Klallam, and the sub-bands of the last, viz., Kah-tie, Squahquaihtl, Tch-queen, Ste-teht-lum, Tsohkw, Yennis, Elh-wa, Pishtst, Hun-nint, Klat-la-wash, and O-ke-ho, occupying lands on the Strait of Fuca and Hood's Canal.

A reservation was set off at the mouth of the Skokomish River, of 3840 acres. $60,000 in the usual annuities, and $6000 for the improvement of the reservation, were provided, and the other provisions were the same as in the Tulalip and She-nah-nam Creek treaties. This treaty was witnessed by the same gentlemen who witnessed the preceding.

COUNCIL OF NEAH BAY, AND MAKAH TREATY.

From Port Townsend the schooner sped rapidly down the Strait of Fuca, running one hundred and twenty miles in two days, — no holiday voyage, in a small vessel in midwinter, along that exposed and shelterless coast, — and reached Neah Bay on the evening of the 28th. At this point, just inside Cape Flattery, the Makah Indians had their principal village. Messengers were immediately dispatched to call in the Indians of the other Makah villages, and of tribes farther south on the coast. The tents, goods, and men were landed on the 29th, and camp established. The following day the governor, accompanied by Mr. Gibbs, crossed the Cape Flattery peninsula to the Pacific coast, and examined the country for the purpose of selecting a suitable reservation. In the evening he called a meeting of the Makah chiefs on board the schooner, the other villages having come in during the day, and explained the principal features of the proposed treaty. The Great Father had sent him here to watch over the Indians. He had talked with the other tribes on the Sound, and they had promised to be good friends with their neighbors, and he had now come to talk with the Makahs. When he had done here, he was going to the Indians down the coast, and would make them friends to the Makahs. He had treated with the other Sound Indians for their lands, setting aside reserves for them, giving them a school, farmer, physician, etc., etc. When he concluded, Kal-chote, a Makah chief, spoke: "Before the big chiefs Klehsitt, the White Chief, Yall-a-coon or Flattery Jack, and Heh-iks died, he was not the head chief himself, he was only the small chief, but though there were many Indians then, he was not the least of them. He knew the country all around, and therefore he had a right to speak. He thought he ought to have the right to fish, and take whales, and get food where he liked. He was afraid that if he could not take halibut where he wanted, he would become poor."

Keh-tchook, of the stone house: "What Kal-chote had said was his wish. He did not want to leave the salt water."

Governor Stevens informed them that, so far from wishing to stop their fisheries, he wished to send them oil-kettles and fishing apparatus.

Klah-pr-at-loo: "He was willing to sell his land. All he wanted was the right of fishing."

Tse-kan-wootl: "He wanted the sea. That was his country. If whales were killed and floated ashore, he wanted, for his people, the exclusive right of taking them, and if their slaves ran away, he wanted to get them back."

Governor Stevens replied that he wanted them to fish, but the whites should fish also. Whoever killed the whales was to have them if they came ashore. Many white men were coming into the country, and he did not want the Indians to be crowded out.

Kal-chote: "I want always to live on my old ground, and to die on it. I only want a small piece for a house, and will live as a friend to the whites, and they should fish together."

Ke-bach-sat: "My heart is not bad, but I do not wish to leave all my land. I am willing you should have half, but I want the other half myself."

It-an-da-ha: "My father! my father! I now give you my heart. When any ships come and the whites injure me, I will apply to my father, and tell him of my trouble, and look to him for help, and if any Indians wish to kill me, I shall still call on my father. I do not wish to leave the salt water. I want to fish in common with the whites. I don't want to sell all my land. I want a part in common with the whites to plant potatoes on. I want the place where my house is."

Governor Stevens asked them whether, if the right of drying fish wherever they pleased was left them, they could not agree to live at one place for a winter residence and potato ground, explaining the idea of subdivision of lands, and he desired them to think the matter over during the night. They were asked to consult among themselves upon the choice of a head chief. As they declined doing this, on the ground that they were all of equal rank, the governor selected Tse-kan-wootl, the Osett chief, as the head, a choice in which they all acquiesced with satisfaction. Temporary papers in lieu of commissions were then issued to a number of the sub-chiefs.

The Indians assembled in council on the morning of January 31. The number of the tribe was found to be six hundred. Governor Stevens explained the provisions of the treaty: —

> "The Great Father sent me to see you, and give you his mind. The whites are crowding in upon you. The Great Father wishes to give you your homes, to buy your land, and give a fair price for it, leaving you land enough to live on and raise potatoes. He knows what whalers you are, how far you go to sea to take whales. He will send you barrels in which to put your oil, kettles to try it out, lines and implements to fish with. The Great Father wants your children to go to school, to learn trades."

The treaty was then read and interpreted and explained, clause by clause.

Governor Stevens then asked them if they were satisfied. If they were, to say so. If not, to answer freely and state their objections.

Tse-kan-wootl brought up a white flag and presented it, saying: "Look at this flag. See if there are any spots on it. There are none, and there are none on our hearts."

Kal-chote then presented another flag and said, "What you have said is good, and what you have written is good."

The Indians gave three cheers or shouts as each concluded. The governor then signed the treaty, and was followed by the Indian chiefs and principal men, forty-one in number, of the Neah, Waatch, Tsoo-yess, and Osett villages, or bands of the Makahs. Among the names are Klah-pe-an-hie or Andrew Jackson, Tchoo-quut-lah or Yes Sir, and Swell or Jeff Davis.

The witnesses were M. T. Simmons, Indian agent; George Gibbs, secretary; B. F. Shaw, interpreter; C. M.

Hitchcock, M. D.; E. S. Fowler, Orrington Cushman, and Robert Davis.

The provisions of this treaty are the same as in the others. The annuities in goods, etc., amounted to $30,000, and $3000 were provided to improve the reservation, which embraced Neah Bay and Cape Flattery and their principal village. It was intended only for a place of residence, with enough cultivable land for potatoes and vegetables, and, what was more important, to prevent their being crowded off by fishing establishments. The locality is unfit for agriculture, being rocky and sterile, with an annual rainfall of 122 inches. And the reserve was all they needed, for the Makahs are bold and skillful fishermen and sailors, accustomed to venture thirty to fifty miles out to sea in their large canoes, and take the whale and halibut, while inshore they hunt the seal and sea-otter, and catch the salmon. They are a more sturdy, brave, and enterprising race than the natives of the Sound, more resembling the northern Indians. In their remote, rocky stronghold, protected by the strong arm of the government extended over them by this treaty, but depending upon the sea and their own efforts for a livelihood, they have prospered greatly, putting up vast quantities of fish, furs, and oil for market; and there are few white communities that have so much wealth per capita, or wealth so evenly distributed, as these industrious and manly Indians.

Immediately after the signing the presents were distributed, the camp was broken up, and in the evening the party reëmbarked. The little vessel at once hoisted sail for Port Townsend, where, after a three days' trip, being delayed by head winds, she arrived February 3. The next day the governor, with some of the party, took the Major Tompkins for Victoria, in order to confer with Governor Douglass upon the means of preventing the piratical incursions of the northern Indians upon the Sound. On the 5th he returned to Port Townsend, and reached Olympia on the night of the 6th.

This brief campaign was Napoleonic in rapidity and success. In six weeks Governor Stevens met and treated with five thousand Indians, of numerous independent and jealous tribes and bands, and in four separate councils carefully and indefatigably made clear to them the new policy, convinced them of its benefits to them, and concluded with them four separate treaties, by which the Indian title to the whole Puget Sound basin was extinguished forever, and the great source and danger of collision between the races was removed. For the eight thousand five hundred Indians hitherto ignored by Congress and treated by the settlers as mere vagrants, to be shoved aside at the whim or self-interest of any white man, he established nine reservations, containing over 60,000 acres, for their permanent homes and exclusive possessions; provided annuities of clothing, goods, and useful articles for twenty years, aggregating $300,000; abolished slavery and war among them; excluded liquor from the reservations; extended over them the protection of the government, with agents, schools, teachers, farmers, and mechanics to instruct them; and, in a word, set their feet fairly on "the white man's road." To accomplish this astonishing work in such brief time, he traveled eight hundred miles upon the Sound and Strait in the most inclement season of the year, half the distance, and that the most dangerous, in a small sailing-craft. He disregarded the storms and rains of that inclement season, and spared neither himself nor his assistants. It is not easy to say who had the hardest task, the agents and messengers who traveled all over the Sound in canoes in the tempestuous rainy season to call the scattered bands together, or the unfortunate secretary, who had to catch and set down on paper the jaw-breaking native names.

The success and rapidity with which he carried through these treaties were due to the careful and thorough manner in which he planned them, and prepared the minds of the Indians by his tour among and talks to them a year previous, and by the messages and agents he had sent among them. Besides, the Indians realized their own feebleness and uncertain future, divided into so many bands, exposed to the depredations of the northern Indians, and dreading the advent and encroachments of the whites. Their minds consequently were well attuned for treating; and when they understood the wise and beneficent policy and liberal terms offered by the governor, they gladly accepted them, and put their trust in him as their friend and protector, a trust never withdrawn and never forsaken.

The Indian war which occurred soon after, and the delay in the ratification of the treaties, seriously militated against carrying out the beneficent policy so well inaugurated, and later the occasional appointment of inefficient and dishonest agents has proved even more detrimental; but notwithstanding all these drawbacks the Indians have made substantial advances in civilization, and it is interesting to compare their present condition, as given in the last reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and from local sources.

Their numbers have diminished only about one half. No one seeing their debased condition in 1850 to 1860 (except the Makahs) would have deemed it possible for them to hold their own so well.

Makahs	750
Tulalip Agency, lower Sound Indians	1700
Puyallup Agency, upper Sound Indians	1850
	4300

All now wear civilized dress, and live in houses. Many can read and write, and many of their children attend the reservation schools.

> "Among the Makahs, many of the younger Indians are turning their attention to farming and raising stock, and many of them have fine gardens. They still catch a great many fish, sending them to market in Seattle by steamer, and have caught and shipped as high as 10,000 pounds in one day. There are few places with so large a population where so little crime is committed."

All the reservations on the Sound have now been allotted, and the Indians are living on their respective allotments. A considerable number have taken up farms under the homestead laws, or purchased lands from the whites, and are farming successfully. Such Indians are frequently seen driving into the towns with good wagons and teams, as well dressed as the average white rancher, and accompanied ofttimes by their wives and children.

> "Practically all these Indians dress as civilized men and women, and live in houses, some of which are good, comfortable, and roomy, fully equal to the average farm dwellings in prosperous communities of whites, and from these they grade down to the most squalid shacks imaginable. Under the influence of the teachers, and the example of the more advanced Indians and the better class of white neighbors, there is slow but sure improvement in this particular."

During the fall hundreds of them congregate on the hop-fields, where they supply the most reliable hop-pickers, whole families — men, women, and children — diligently working together. After this harvest crowds of them flock into the towns, and lay in stores of clothing and provisions for the winter before returning home.[1]

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[1] Commissioner of Indian Affairs' Report for 1899, pp. 301-303, 612.